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INTERNATIONAL IDENTITY IMPLICATIONS IN BREAKING FROM ECONOMIC
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INTERNATIONAL IDENTITY IMPLICATIONS IN BREAKING FROM ECONOMIC
AGREEMENTS

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COLLEGE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is analyze how and why international identity matters particularly when discussing why states choose to break from international regimes in the form of economic arrangements. This study looks in depth at international identity as a concept and then applies it to state decision-making processes.

I do not assume that international identity perspectives are the only reason why a state may choose to break from an economic arrangement, but rather introduce it as a partial explanation, proving that it as an important factor to consider when analyzing how and why states do what they do.

My research question is do international identity perceptions influence why states choose to break from international regimes in the form of economic arrangements? I argue that international identity perspectives affect state choice based upon given international identity determinants, which influence state action in dyadic international relationships in the form of breaking from economic arrangements.

I use two cases to show how international identity influences state decision-making processes: Ukraine and Russia and the United Kingdom and the European Union. I show how political elites use shared stocks of knowledge to encourage a desired international identity outcome, which in this study, is meant to break economic arrangements. This study argues that international identity affects the durability of economic arrangements regardless of economic or material benefit. This is not to say that international identity is the sole purpose for terminating economic arrangements, but rather a partial explanation to factors contributing to state-decision making processes.

This is a constructivist approach to studying international identity and agency in international relations with the intent to provide a more comprehensive breadth of knowledge in studying state decision-making processes.

Chapter 1: Introduction: Relating international identity perspectives to the durability of dyadic international agreements

Constructivist approaches to identity in international relations (IR) are often understood qualitatively and lack strong measures for replicable analysis. The constructivist's cardinal assumption of intersubjectivity makes quantitative operationalizations difficult to achieve due to the extensiveness and complexity of social interaction.¹ International Political Economy (IPE) literature generally focuses on rationalist theories concerning micro-level decision-making processes and applies little constructivist theory to these decision-making processes. However, by applying constructivist approaches to IPE, it is possible to look at the broader microfoundations that are assumed to motivate actor behavior as a social community relationally rather than as independent domestic entities. This study intends to analyze the determinants of international identity and discuss why states choose to break from international regimes. I argue that international identity affects state choice in breaking from international regimes in the form of economic arrangements.

The purpose of this study is to investigate international identity as an independent variable in the likelihood of breaking from an economic arrangement. This analysis looks to apply constructivist theory to international regimes by providing additional determinants in state behavior. Although this study is reductionist in its own right by investigating a single independent variable, I hope to contribute additional information to understand why states may choose to break from international regimes.

¹ Ted Hopf and Bentley B Allan. *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. p.3

Reductionist literature is inherently incomplete. However, it can be useful in understanding single variables as it applies to a phenomenon. Even still, reductionist literature focuses only on the fundamentals of any given study. Hopf and Allan (2016) argue that quantitative measures of identity are often reductionist because the methodology used is prone to only including limited and biased variables that are dependent on what matters to the researcher. Oatley (2011) also discusses reductionist methodology, particularly as it applies to IPE, as often unsuitable for relational phenomena because states inhibit complex social systems that are weakly accounted for in reductionist methodologies. Nevertheless, the scope of this study hopes to contribute knowledge to these fields, and as such, will investigate international identity specifically as a determinant in breaking from economic arrangements. Ukraine and the United Kingdom are analyzed specifically in this study, but other cases including many of the broken economic agreements under the Trump administration like the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) are possible candidates for implementing international identity perspectives in breaking from these economic agreements.²

I explore the dyadic international identity between states that have entered into an economic arrangement and highlight what determinants of international identity may influence them to break from an economic arrangement. The causal mechanisms affecting state behavior are top-down applications of influence through shared stocks of knowledge meant to alter public opinion in a way that promotes desired international identity outcomes. In this study, desired international identity outcomes are meant to inspire negative international identity perceptions of regime partners in order to garner support in

² Douglas Irwin. "Trade Under Trump: What He's Done So Far – and What He'll Do Next." *Foreign Affairs* (2018).

breaking from economic arrangements. Political elites may choose to promote negative international identity perceptions because of some dispute between partners. Disputes may include differences in values, norms, or interpretations of their place in the international system in a way that threatens the regime partners' desired wellbeing. When this desired wellbeing is seemingly threatened, negative international identity perceptions spread by political elites promotes change in the relationship by way of breaking from the economic arrangement. International identity perceptions must be negative to inspire change in the relationship. Positive international identity perceptions do not promote change because I reasonably assume that regime partners would exit an economic arrangement with positive international identity perceptions of its relationship.

Desired international identity outcomes are achieved through common themes or discourses in widely circulated newspapers. These common themes are categorized as international identity determinants and then measured by valence values to show perception and frequency of such discourses. By analyzing shared stocks of knowledge, I show how political elites promote negative international identity perceptions of economic regime partners in order to garner support in breaking from economic agreements. Evidence in shared stocks of knowledge show negative shifts in international identity perceptions before breaking from economic arrangements. I show how international identity perceptions are significant to international relationships even if it contradicts cost-benefit analysis or economic interest. The health of economic arrangements relies on more than economic interest, but also international identity perceptions of the relationship.

Economic arrangements encompass any kind of formal trade agreement or arrangement between countries with an intended economic outcome. Economic

arrangements may include economic unions, free trade agreements, and other similar economic arrangements where formal negotiations take place.

International identity differs from national identity in how a state relates itself to the rest of the world or more specifically in the case of this study, how it relates itself to another international regime partner. However, international identity is similar to national identity in how it is “constructed, transmitted, and circumscribed via discourse”.³⁴ The study of international identity is a modern approach to analyzing international relationships in an increasingly interconnected and globalizing world. Although national identity is an important and influential theoretical construct that has garnered plenty of attention in various academic fields (Hobsbawm 1983; Renan, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Anderson 2011) it fails to account for the “complex interrelations and identification processes that develop among nations” and how it affects international attitudes and discourses beyond state borders.⁵

The purpose of defining an international identity generally falls into two forms of discourse: to distinguish an ‘us’ from ‘them’ or to draw similarities between ‘us’ and ‘them’ to employ some constructed idea of self-image in how the state sees itself as a member in the international community.⁶ Wendt (1992) describes this kind of discourse in analyzing different kinds of international relationships. He analyzes how the “distribution of knowledge” and “intersubjective understandings and expectations” of one another are

³ Kevin Coe and Rico Neumann. “International Identity in Theory and Practice: The Case of the Modern American Presidency.” *Communication Monographs* 78, no. 2 (2011): 139-161.

⁴ Ted Hopf and Bentley B Allan. *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

⁵ Kevin Coe and Rico Neumann. “International Identity in Theory and Practice: The Case of the Modern American Presidency.” *Communication Monographs* 78, no. 2 (2011): 139-161.

⁶ Kevin Coe and Rico Neumann. “International Identity in Theory and Practice”

essential to analyzing state behavior in how states may distinguish each other as friends or enemies and make choices centered on these perceptions.⁷ Often, international identity studies focus primarily on the EU (Whitman, 1998; Damro, 2001; Waele and Kuipers, 2013), and although this study includes the EU in a case study, I hope to expand on the concept of international identity with additional cases including Ukraine and Russia and the United Kingdom (UK) and European Union (EU).

The study applies the dyadic perceptions of international identity as strongly positive, somewhat positive, indifferent, somewhat negative, and strongly negative to highlight the perception of international identity as a determinant in choosing to break from an economic arrangement. International identity determinants are shown through shared stocks of knowledge, which display a collective identity (or attitude) within a sovereign state about another state.⁸ This research follows a similar theoretical constructivist framework outlined by Hopf and Allan (2016) as they apply non-reductionist quantitative identity measures to analyze identity as an independent variable in security alliances.

I use coding methods that focus on how the regime partners perceive the international relationship. The data is gathered from widely circulated newspapers with the assumption they reach a large portion of the public. I use one newspaper issue per month during the designated time period during the middle portion of the month. I organize the data by applying keywords in newspaper databases that distinguish articles, which display some perception of the relationship being studied. For the Ukraine and

⁷ Alexander Wendt. "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 397.

⁸ Ted Hopf and Bentley B Allan. *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Russia case, the keyword used is “Russia” and for the UK and EU case, the keywords used are “EU” and “European Union.” Once the appropriate articles are gathered, I code each articles using valence values showing strongly positive, somewhat positive, neutral, strongly negative and somewhat negative international identity perceptions of the relationship. These valence symbols are translated into raw counts, which are then normalized into percentages shown through valence symbols.⁹ Each valence symbol represents the perception by measures of 25%. For example, if a determinant is coded as negative in 75% of the data for that year, it will receive three negative valence symbols in that category.

The normalized data is meant to show the changes in perception within discourses over time. The aggregated data shows perception changes annually, highlighting the shifts that occur up to the break from the economic arrangement based upon the given articles that year. Frequency is also included through raw counts to account for the shifts in how often a determinant is mentioned leading up to the break in the economic arrangement.

This kind of measurement does not represent the intensity of each determinant, but I argue that frequency is important to consider because it relates to amount of discourse surrounding each genre, which implies importance. I assume that importance, emphasis or urgency displayed by political elites influences international identity perspectives, which may produce desired international identity outcomes. Although the scope of this study is reductionist in nature, the methodology provided by Hopf and Allan (2016) remains relevant in how international identity is analyzed as an independent variable by providing multiple factors that highlight significant features of international identity.

⁹ Shared stocks of knowledge includes information that the general public has access to like newspapers, internet websites, books, movies, radio and television broadcasts etc.

Determinants are generated by common themes expressed through shared stocks of knowledge. In the case of Ukraine and Russia, determinants include how the relationship between Ukraine and Russia is perceived between the two international regime partners as corrupt/opportunistic, coercive/intimidating/controlling, recognizing Russia and Ukraine as one state/territory, good/fair economic partner/prospect, cooperative/responsible/reliable, economic benefit (monetarily), upholds similar national and state values/rule of law/rights, politically beneficial/complimentary, honor/observe common culture/history, dependency as benefit/deficit, growth/progressive/inclusive.

By this same method, determinants differ in the case of UK and EU. Genres are compiled in the same fashion including just/fair/equitable, competitive/growing market, similar views on immigration, beneficial relationship, dependency as benefit/deficit, good economic partner/prospect, trustworthy/reliable/cooperative/responsible, upholds similar national and state values/rule of law/rights, orderly/pragmatic/efficient, security/secure, considerate of each other's needs.

Shared stocks of knowledge include: leadership speeches, popular media (newspapers, websites, radio stations, news broadcasts), books, and movies. Although this study looks at the shared knowledge of one of the participating parties of the dyadic relationship, the relationship between the parties is still being analyzed. Each party has a distinct perspective of the other in the dyadic relationship, but these perspectives are difficult to differentiate. I assume in this research that each partner's perception of the other feeds into how both members ultimately perceive that relationship. It's a cyclical relationship in which A's perception of B feeds into A's perception of its relationship with B.

For the purposes of this research, I treat both partners of the international regime the same because ultimately, they both agree to terminate the economic agreement. I achieve this by analyzing the relationship from one newspaper instead of two distinctly representative newspapers. This study is meant to be a partial but explanation of why partners in a dyadic international relationship may choose to break from an economic agreement and it is plausible to do this through examining one newspaper.

For the Ukraine and Russia case, I use the *Kyiv Post* which is a Ukrainian newspaper widely circulated in both Ukraine and Russia.¹⁰ For the UK and EU case, I use *The Times*, which is a widely circulated newspaper in the UK. Although there are inherent biases in international identity perspectives in analyzing one newspaper between the regime partners, it is plausible to suggest that there is still valuable information shared about the dyadic relationship using one newspaper for each case.

These factors contribute to the collective understandings of each society to give people “reasons why things are as they are” and represent how material abilities and power should be handled by the state in interactions like international regimes.¹¹ Although more than one national identity may lie within a territorially designated sovereign state, I will attempt to characterize the nuances of the conceptions of the nation within the state and how it understands or categorizes the dyadic relationship as an international identity.¹²

¹⁰ According to a survey by Moscow-based AGT Communications Agency carried out over a six-month period; (2014, July). *Kyiv Post*. p.9.

¹¹ Emanuel Adler. “Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics.” *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 322.

¹² Eric Hobsbawm. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. See also Kevin Coe and Rico Neumann. “International Identity in Theory and Practice: The Case of the Modern American Presidency.” *Communication Monographs* 78, no. 2 (2011): 139-161.

Two case studies are used to show how international identity affects state choice in breaking from an economic arrangement. The first case study analyzes Ukraine and Russia following the Russian annexation of the Ukrainian territory of Crimea in 2014. Leading up to and following the annexation, determinants show negative international identity perceptions of the relationship through heightened negative attitudes and discourse through shared stocks of knowledge. This rise in negative discourse led to state action to suspend the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Free Trade Agreement of 2011 between Ukraine and Russia.¹³ One may also argue that while the negative discourse grew between Ukraine and Russia, a positive discourse towards the European Union (or even Germany) by Ukraine grew, also influencing state action to break from an economic arrangement with Russia in the hopes of joining into an economic arrangement with the European Union. This study focuses primarily on the dyadic international relationship between Ukraine and Russia but it is important to note, as Coe and Neumann (2011) suggest, that international identity discourse not only distinguishes an ‘us’ from ‘them’ but also draws on similarities between ‘us’ and ‘them’. In this way, Ukraine’s dyadic relationship with Russia is centered on how it differs from Russia while simultaneously building a dyadic relationship with the EU centered on how it is similar. This discourse with the EU additionally influences negative international identity perceptions between Russia and Ukraine because of the negative perceptions between EU and Russia. As this example suggests, international relationships and identities become easily intertwined, but this study will continue to focus on dyadic international relationships as applied to economic arrangements.

¹³ “Russia Suspends Free Trade Agreement with Ukraine.” *The Moscow Times*. December 16, 2015.

The second case includes the United Kingdom (UK) and European Union (EU) leading up to and following the Brexit referendum of 2016. In this case, the rise of the negative discourse between the UK and the EU caused a majority of UK citizens to vote to leave the EU and its economic arrangement. Discourses of the EU as an enemy of sorts influenced the attitudes of citizens within the UK causing the state uphold its obligations to its citizens and withdraw from the EU. Although the outcomes of Brexit are still being negotiated among political leaders, what is important to this study is the decision to withdraw from the economic arrangement, not the outcomes of that withdrawal. Like the case between Ukraine and Russia, discourse shifted towards the dyadic international relationship, resulting in a partner breaking from the economic arrangement.^{14 15}

Here, I address the key concepts and definitions of this study. International Relations (IR) theory contains many schools of thought including positivist theories like realism/neorealism (Krasner, 1982 and Morgenthau, 1988); Waltz, 1979), liberalism/neoliberalism (Nye, 2017; Keohane, 1982) and constructivism (Hopf and Allan, 2016; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Adler, 1997).

Constructivism is a social theory that understands the world through intersubjective discourses that can be applied to international politics. It is through cognitive understandings of human action and interaction that humans shape the world they live in and how they deal with material resources and power.¹⁶ In constructivism, actors do not

¹⁴ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917.

¹⁵ Kevin Coe and Rico Neumann. "International Identity in Theory and Practice: The Case of the Modern American Presidency." *Communication Monographs* 78, no. 2 (2011): 139-161.

¹⁶ Emanuel Adler. "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 319-363.

follow solely rational choice processes because although rational choice accounts for changes in behavior, it does not account for the identities that compile such behaviors.¹⁷

Constructivism assumes the actions individuals take embody a set of norms that are seen as right, unlike realism where states are seen as autonomous actors who determine their own actions rationally under a self-interested and self-controlled anarchic structure. Actions may activate varying sets of rules that may lead to tension.¹⁸ When a dispute arises, the actor must persuade the other relevant actors that such actions comply with the established norms using legitimate arguments in an attempt to avoid disapproval by relevant actors.¹⁹ Norm breaking behavior “generates disapproval or stigma” while norm conforming behavior generates “praise” or has been so internalized that it “provokes no reaction whatsoever”.²⁰ This allows actors to build expectations for the consequences of their actions and make decisions based upon those known consequences. In the absence of some kind of agreement and consistency on what the rules and norms are, rules and norms themselves fail to exist.²¹

Norms are standards of “appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity” and appropriateness can only be understood through the “judgments of a community or society.”²² Norms are key to understanding the actions of states because they prompt

¹⁷ Emanuel Adler. “Seizing the Middle Ground”

¹⁸ Wayne Sandholtz. “Dynamics of International Norm Change: Rules against Wartime Plunder.” *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (2008): 101-131.

¹⁹ Wayne Sandholtz. “Dynamics of International Norm Change”

²⁰ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 892.

²¹ Wayne Sandholtz. “Dynamics of International Norm Change: Rules against Wartime Plunder.” *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (2008): 101-131.

²² Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 891-892.

justifications for such actions that can be studied and applied to theory.²³ These norms also influence specific decision-making procedures as the state pursues the most successful law and policy.²⁴ Norms differ from institutions in the way that norms are “isolated standards of behavior” whereas institutions are where these isolated norms are “structured together and interrelate.”²⁵

Most constructivists believe that the state is not the intersection between material and ideational factors; the human decision maker is, while realists see the state as the actor.²⁶ This means that state-action is “the action taken by those acting in the name of the state” rather than by the state itself.²⁷ Accountability and the realm of consequences are placed on human agency and human-decision making rather than on the state and its lack of agency.²⁸ Wendt (2004) discusses treating states as people or at least as an analytical abstraction, but this study follows the more popular conception of constructivist understandings of the human as the decision maker through the state that reflects the collective identity of those within it.

Realism fails to apply the information of the individual and cultural background of the actor when discussing roles, context, discourse, reaction, and relational identity in making decisions.²⁹ Realism, according to Morgenthau (1988), lies upon the presumption that state action is rational. This rationality is predictable because it is self-interested,

²³ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. “International Norm Dynamics”

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*, 891.

²⁶ Valerie M. Hudson. “A Touchstone for International Relations Theory in the Twenty-first Century.” in *Foreign Policy Decision-Making (Revisited)*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2002.

²⁷ Valerie M. Hudson. “A Touchstone for International Relations Theory”, 4

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ Valerie M. Hudson. “A Touchstone for International Relations Theory in the Twenty-first Century.” in *Foreign Policy Decision-Making (Revisited)*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2002. p.9

making the study of politics or international relations possible to study. Morgenthau (1988) argues that “interest defined as power” explains why statesmen make predictable rational political decisions and not ideological ones. Ideological motivation of the statesman is not necessary to study because “they do not guarantee the moral goodness and political successes of the policies they inspire.”³⁰ If one wishes to understand foreign policy, motives are not as important as understanding the intellectual ability of the statesman to comprehend information to make successful interest-based political decisions.³¹

Realism does not account for the irrationality or irregularities of agency in international relations. My argument suggests that the statesmen making the choice to break economic arrangements are not acting rationally, but in the interest of international identity perspectives that may directly conflict with monetary or power gains. I show how negative international identity perspectives are a partial explanation why states may choose to break from seemingly beneficial economic arrangements, which is direct contradiction to the expectations of realist theory.

Neoliberalism also emphasizes rational choice but focuses on international cooperation rather than power politics. Unlike neorealism, neoliberalism accounts for the durability of international regimes even with changes in material power. Keohane (1982) explains that actors are self-interested and should seek to establish international regimes through mutual agreements. He argues that “hegemonic stability theory” fails to account for fluctuations in power, because the concentration of power in one dominant state

³⁰ Hans Moregnthau. “Politics Among Nations.” 6th ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 1988. p. 6

³¹ Hans Moregnthau. “Politics Among Nations”

facilitates the development of strong international regimes and by the same account, the fragmentation of this power results in regime collapse.³²

Neoliberalism is concerned with absolute gains versus the relative gains of international regimes. Although I argue that international identity perspectives affects actor's decision-making processes in the hopes of attaining some desired international identity outcome, which is inherently self-interested and fostered through international regimes through mutual agreements, I directly argue that this is not due solely to absolute or material gains. I show that these mutual agreements are based on the positive international identity perspectives of regime partners that may choose to break from an international arrangement, even if there are considerable material gains within that regime. It is not a material or power based approach to international relations, but an approach concerned with symbolic interactionism, agency, and norms that do not always result in entirely rational choices.

International regimes are "principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue-area."³³ Krasner (1982) illustrates how international regimes have been conceptualized as "intervening variables standing between basic causal factors on one hand and outcomes and behavior on the other."³⁴ Behavior in Krasner's realist view is a "function of the distribution of power among states and the relative position of a given state".³⁵ Changes in the structure of

³² Robert O Keohane. "The Demand for International Regimes." *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 325-355.

³³ Stephen D. Krasner. "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables." *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 185.

³⁴ Stephen D. Krasner. "Structural Causes", 185

³⁵ Stephen D. Krasner. "Sovereignty: An Institutional Perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 21, no. 1 (1988): 70.

international politics will only change as the distribution of power changes, which then inevitably leads to power-based foreign policy outcomes.³⁶ The state in this instance is understood as a “bundle of capabilities” in a specified territory and makes decisions as if under a “unified rational actor.”³⁷ Here, Krasner (1982) confines the state in realist theory when regime literature has grown to prove the regime more important than he assumes.

Barnett and Duvall (2005) apply multiple conceptions of power (compulsory, institutional, structural, productive) in what they distinguish as a “taxonomy of power”. Their taxonomy includes two crucial dimensions: “the kinds of social relations through which power works and the specificity of social relations through which effects are produced.”³⁸ Barnett and Duvall (2005) argue that applying multiple concepts of power helps generate a more robust understanding of how power works in international politics through intersubjective perceptions of power between countries. One needs to consider how “social structures and processes generate differential social capacities for actors to define and pursue their interests and ideals.”³⁹ In this way, power produces effects that shape how actors determine their circumstances and fate through social relations.⁴⁰ Agency and structure are integrated into a conceptual framework to describe the actions and capabilities of states through varying illustrations of power.⁴¹ This analysis looks at the

³⁶ Stephen D. Krasner. “Sovereignty: An Institutional Perspective.” *Comparative Political Studies* 21, no. 1 (1988): 66-94.

³⁷ *ibid.*, 70.

³⁸ Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall. “Power in International Politics.” *International Organization* 59 (Winter 2005): 39.

³⁹ *ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ Alexander Wendt. “The agent-structure problem in international relations theory.” *International Organization* 41, no. 3 (1987): 335-370. See also Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall. “Power in International Politics.” *International Organization* 59 (Winter 2005): 39-75.

intersubjective perceptions of power between countries and how international identity defines interests in an international regime rather than on conceptions of power.

Any pattern of interaction illustrates self-perception and the perception of others in a way that can be studied like in international regimes.⁴² Constructivism does not deny that a power structure exists, but that power is not solely based on material value. Power not only requires the material resources to impose one's view on another, "but also the authority to determine the shared meanings that constitute the identities, interests and practices of states, as well as the conditions that confer, defer or deny access to 'goods' and benefits."⁴³

The durability of international regimes through varying balances of power, according to Keohane (1982), has contributed to the demand for such regimes. He hypothesizes that international regimes facilitate agreements and provide recognition and transparency of state interests, solve problems like transaction costs and "information imperfections", are able to withstand the growing density of issues by developing norms for actors, apply structure to transgovernmental relations, remove the belief that hegemony is necessary for international regime stability, and account for state's emerging lack of capabilities to control events like before.⁴⁴ Simply put, Keohane (1982) concludes that actors have "incentives to coordinate their behavior" in order to "achieve greater collective benefits without reducing the utility of any unit" making international regimes

⁴² Andreas Hasenclever, Peter Mayer and Volker Rittberger. *Theories of International Regimes / Cambridge Studies in International Relations*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

⁴³ Emanuel Adler. "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 336.

⁴⁴ Robert O. Keohane. "The Demand for International Regimes." *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 354.

inevitable.⁴⁵ I suggest in this study that these “incentives to coordinate behavior” are based on more than on the “utility of the unit” but on the international identity perspectives of that relationship regardless of absolute utility. Keohane (1982) does not account for identity discrepancies in international regimes and how that affects regime durability. Although these factors that Keohane (1982) addresses like incentive and utility are important, I propose that other factors like international identity are overlooked when discussing international regimes and their durability over time.

However, as Wendt (1992) argues, anarchy is what states make of it. This constructivist approach to power and international regimes differs from neorealists and neoliberals in that emphasis is not entirely placed in rationalism or self-interest.⁴⁶ These theories only account for changes in behavior and fail to address the changes in identities or the interests of agents. Although, self-help systems are prevalent in neoliberal theory, Wendt’s approach describes how institutions of “self-help and power politics are socially constructed under anarchy” through the “institution of sovereignty.”⁴⁷ Identities and interests are then transformed through an “evolution of cooperation” and “intentional efforts to transform egoistic identities into collective identities” through agents.⁴⁸ Wendt (1992) discusses that there is a level of complex learning involved in state interactions that is not fully accounted for in rationalism. Rationalism reduces behavioral interactions as exogenously given among actors in the anarchic structure.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Robert O Keohane. “The Demand”, 355.

⁴⁶ Alexander Wendt. “Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics.” *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391-425.

⁴⁷ Alexander Wendt. “Anarchy is what”, 395.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 395.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) describe strategic shifts in identity as “strategic social construction”. This is when actors rationally strategize when to reconfigure their choices based upon the preferences, identities, or social context of their interaction with other states.⁵⁰ Constructivism makes up for the rational shortcomings seen in realism in how actors may act rationally not only to manipulate the material world but also the social world through social constructions like norms, rules, and identities.⁵¹

Hopf (2002) however, rejects that identities can be strategically manipulated even though leaders may try to do so. He believes that the “routine, repetitive, habitual, customary, and everyday” aspects of identity take over the “deliberate, reflexive, problem-solving, adaptive, evolutionary” aspects of identity.⁵² Hopf (2002) argues that eventually, “situations acquire an intersubjectively understood collection of attitudes, orientations, actions and perspectives” that are echoed in social interaction.⁵³ However, it is the involuntary aspects of identity and the motivations of strategic identity that work together to produce some outcome, which may not be entirely rational. It is possible that both kinds of processes take place.⁵⁴ If state actors, which reflect an identity, do not strategically manipulate its state’s identity and how that identity is perceived by other actors, it remains subordinate to the current international system because there is no ability to adapt to a changing system. At the same time the state is subject to the habitual aspects of being. This

⁵⁰ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 888.

⁵¹ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. “International Norm Dynamics”

⁵² Ted Hopf. *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities & Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002. p.3

⁵³ Ted Hopf. *Social Construction*, 3

⁵⁴ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 891-892. See also Ted Hopf. *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities & Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

can simultaneously render the state to irrational action thus making it incapable of being entirely rational. Both are present in this analysis in how international identity perspectives are formed through both habitual and manipulated procedures and then acted upon in a way that is more manipulative in order to gain a desired international identity outcome. The manipulated part of international identity is what I focus on in this study to show how changes in identity are reflected in state choice because political elites intend to influence or manipulate a specific international identity perspective. International identity perspectives have the ability to change over time while economic agreements remain static unless renegotiated. This chasm between non-static identity and static economic arrangement contribute to the casual mechanisms at work when states chose to break from economic arrangements.

The state is the politically sovereign unit and the nation is the group identity. The state is a political body that recognizes a central government and the territory constituted by that state.⁵⁵ A state must also be recognized as sovereign and as an international actor by other states.⁵⁶ This does not assume that the territorial boundaries of the state fully encompass the nation or that a single nation resides within the state. There is not a fixed area that holds a nation; it is a flexible but generally agreed upon boundary that is understood through social interactions.⁵⁷ As mentioned, the state and the nation do not always align perfectly, but this study examines the collective group identity within the state

⁵⁵ Eric Hobsbawm. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

⁵⁶ Alexander Wendt. "Collective Identity Formation and the International State." *The American Political Science Review* 88, no. 2 (1994): 384-396.

⁵⁷ Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London: Verso. 2006. See also Ted Hopf and Bentley B Allan. *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

and how it is reflected in state behavior in international regimes. The state is the actor in international regimes but the scope of this study assumes that group identity is reflected in state choices and how it pursues state interests.⁵⁸ According to Hall, the social construction of identities and their participation in international regimes shows that identity is “necessarily prior to more obvious conceptions of interest” as a “we’ needs to be established before its interests can be articulated.”⁵⁹

The nation is an “international reality” that is “socially constructed by cognitive structures that give meaning to the material world.”⁶⁰ The nation, as a group identity, gives meaning to the material world through self-perceptions and the characteristics endowed by others. Identity is relational in that an ‘other’ needs to be established before one can define the ‘self’ making both the ‘self’ and ‘other’ necessary in establishing identity.⁶¹

International identity differs from national identity in how it sees itself as part of the international community. National identity is shaped by one’s own imaginings of ‘their’ nation and where ‘they’ belong within it. ⁶² But according to Coe and Neumann (2011), national identity fails to address the “complex interrelations and identification processes that develop among nations in an increasingly globalized world.”⁶³

⁵⁸ Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall. “Power in International Politics.” *International Organization* 59 (Winter 2005): 39-75.

⁵⁹ Peter A. Hall. “Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain.” *Comparative Politics* 25, no. 3 (1993): 51.

⁶⁰ Emanuel Adler. “Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics.” *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 319-363.

⁶¹ Ted Hopf and Bentley B Allan. *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

⁶² Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London: Verso. 2006. See also Kevin Coe and Rico Neumann. “International Identity in Theory and Practice: The Case of the Modern American Presidency.” *Communication Monographs* 78, no. 2 (2011): 139-161.

⁶³ Kevin Coe and Rico Neumann. “International Identity in Theory,” 140.

International identity accounts for the considerations of identity beyond state borders.⁶⁴ International identity is about communication, much like national identity, in that it is “constructed, transmitted, and circumscribed via discourse.”⁶⁵ International identity addresses how states make decisions relationally rather than as an independent entity.

The concept of international identity is not widely addressed in IR literature, which gives this analysis purpose in the academic field. This lack of information of complex subject as this comes with its own difficulties in differentiating what makes international identity applicable to IR studies. International identity and national identity are parallel concepts. National interests are “intersubjective understandings about what it takes to advance power, influence and wealth, that survive the political process, given the distribution of power and knowledge in a society.”⁶⁶ Nations come to understand these national interests through “cognitive evolution” which argues that we come to “understand the adoption by policy-makers of new interpretations of reality, as they are created and introduced to the political system by individuals and social actors.”⁶⁷ Here, rules and norms are assigned to designate what is appropriate for the nation to pursue through international relations. This is not the same process that leads to the adoption of knowledge related to international identity.

The international identity of state choice considers what is appropriate for the state to pursue in relation to how it understands it’s relationship with another state within an

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Emanuel Adler. “Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics.” *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 337.

⁶⁷ Emanuel Adler. “Seizing the Middle Ground,” 339.

international regime much like Wendt (2004) describes in positive or negative conceptions of the actor as ‘friend’ or enemy’.

Identity must be formed before the interests can be articulated through the state. There can be no national interest if the nation’s identity (interests, values, practices etc.) is not defined.⁶⁸ National interests in this sense are not entirely materially value laden but are “intersubjective understandings about what it takes to advance power, influence and wealth, that survive political process, given the distribution of power and knowledge in a society” according to the collective understandings of the people within it.⁶⁹ The state needs to form interests that are then pursued through intersubjective practices of how it imagines itself and how it interacts with the world. This can mean breaking from an economic arrangement because identity perception deems it appropriate, knowing it will still entail detrimental consequences. How a state interacts with another can be perceived as good or bad and have consequences in how they are treated (like a friend or enemy) in the international community.

Economic interests are considered here as a branch of international interest. Countries generally have three pathways available to them once an economic arrangement begins: to maintain the status quo or comply with the economic arrangement, to renegotiate the arrangement, or exit the arrangement.⁷⁰ This study focuses on when and why countries decide to exit arrangements, particularly as it relates to international identity. Liberal understandings of economics argue that politics and economics are closely related and that power is not gained solely through monetary wealth but through the

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *ibid.* 337.

⁷⁰ Robert O. Keohane. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Rev. ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

economic activities that are meant to enrich the individuals in the country, not necessarily the country itself.⁷¹ Although there is no current literature analyzing these processes, I argue that constructivist literature would expect that economic arrangements emphasize the actor's understanding of the economic relationship in which they determine what behaviors are appropriate as an insider in the arrangement rather than abiding by outsider perceptions of that economic relationship. The state, as a reflection of its national and international identity, distinguishes what is appropriate in decision making through intersubjective understandings of norms, rules, identities, and its relationship to each. In other words, the state finds that exiting an economic arrangement is the appropriate decision to make, regardless of the consequences. Materialist theories like realism and liberalism generally fail to account for identity variables when considering the economic processes of state interaction. Materialist approaches would argue that countries might join economic arrangements primarily for economic interests and not other considerations including other international interests.⁷² Materialist approaches also suggests that countries may exit economic arrangements due to changes in material interests or in an undesirable distribution of power among member countries.⁷³ Identity generally fails to appear in liberal economics as a determinant for state choices because it focuses primarily on economic or power determinants.

This study contributes knowledge to the IPE literature by addressing additional reasons as to why states exit economic arrangements. There is a great deal of existing literature analyzing why states may enter economic arrangements, but the why states

⁷¹ Thomas Oatley. *International Political Economy*. 5th ed. Boston: Longman, 2012.

⁷² Thomas Oatley. *International Political Economy*. 5th ed.

⁷³ Robert O. Keohane. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Rev. ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

choose to exit these arrangements is generally not addressed (Baier & Bergstrand, 2004; Elkins et al., 2006; Kono, 2006; Manger & Shadlen, 2014; Simmons et al., 2006; Tobin & Busch, 2010).⁷⁴ The most discernable argument is that states leave economic arrangements because it is in their best interest, according to cost-benefit analysis. However, I hope to contribute knowledge to the role that international identity perspectives play in economic arrangements.

In the Ukraine and Russia case, although economic concerns are partially to blame for terminating economic agreements, international identity perspectives fueled negative discourse, which, I argue, is an important contributing factor. The Brexit case is more obvious in proving a similar argument. The British “Leave” campaign argued that it was in the UK’s best interest (economically and politically) to leave the EU and its embedded economic agreement but as the following data suggests, this was a shortsighted mistake that many Conservatives were aware of before the referendum. Economic and power determinants take up much of the literature and including international identity determinants will broaden how we understand the choices that states make particularly as it relates to exiting economic arrangements and cost-benefit analysis.

In the subsequent chapters of this study, I intend to critically examine the international identity determinants as an independent variable on the choices of states to break from international regimes as economic arrangements. Using case studies, I will examine the economic stability of each case as well as international identity determinants to show how international identity affects state behavior.

⁷⁴ Keohane (2005) lightly touches on why countries may find discord in economic arrangements but does not go in depth on why countries may choose to leave an economic arrangement.

Chapter 2: Ukraine and Russia

Gathering the data:

The data collected on Ukraine and Russia's dyadic international relationship portrays how each partner understands the international relationship through societal discourses. Through these discourses, I will attempt to prove how they form their international identity perceptions of the relationship through shared stocks of knowledge. Societal discourses are considered shared stocks of knowledge that average citizens in each partner state would have access to. In the case of Ukraine, shared stocks of knowledge include the *Kyiv Post*, a widely circulated Ukrainian newspaper in Ukraine and Russia. All of these sources portray intersubjective attitudes or perceptions of the relationship between Ukraine and Russia.

The contextual timeline discussing the dyadic international relationship between Ukraine and Russia focuses on the years 2009 to 2015. I chose this period of time because it surrounds the Russian annexation of the Ukrainian territory of Crimea in 2014 during which that same period Ukraine breaks its economic agreements with Russia. These events are significant to the dyadic international relationship between Ukraine and Russia because the war dramatically shifts the perception of the international relationship resulting in the eventual discontinuity of two economic agreements.

Following the Russian annexation of Crimea, Ukraine makes significant moves to break its economic dependence on Russia based on determinants of negative international identity perceptions of the relationship with Russia. Although both sides are generally economically stable and show reasonable economic benefit from one another, the

international identity determinants influence Ukraine's leaders to break from its economic agreements with Russia regardless of potential economic interests.

Prior to the annexation of Crimea:

On the surface, the agreement looks great. For the next decade, Ukraine supposedly gets a 30 percent discount on the price of its natural gas imports from Russia – allowing affordable energy prices that feed the nation's mighty and gas-guzzling industries, steel among them. Yanukovich says the deal will bring savings of \$40 billion to Ukraine this decade. In return, Russia gets to keep its Black Sea naval fleet where it has been for centuries – on the Crimean coast of Ukraine.⁷⁵

Upon closer examination, the deal is terrible in both respects. Russia has been overcharging Ukraine for natural gas – mainly because it didn't like ex-President Viktor Yushchenko's leadership. The so-called 30 percent discount, as energy expert Edward Chow notes on the next opinion page, actually only brings the import price closer to its true market value.⁷⁶

Ukraine – the “energy junkie” – keeps getting its unhealthy fixes from a Kremlin leadership that revels in keeping Ukraine weak and subservient. Yanukovich portrays the presence of Russia's Black Sea fleet as part of a European security guarantee. From whom? The only threat to Ukraine's territorial integrity comes from Russia – specifically, from Kremlin leaders who pine for the days of the Soviet Union, and would love nothing more than to keep Ukraine divided and weak. This agreement, a sellout of Ukraine's long-term interests and territorial integrity – helps Russian leaders in this unholy endeavor.⁷⁷

Following the annexation of Crimea:

After gaining its independence in 1991, Ukraine, along with Russia, spent a quarter of a century in the post-communist twilight zone. It didn't have Russia's natural resources, and so it was much poorer, getting mere crumbs from Russia's table. Now, by emphatically rejecting communism, Ukraine has declared that it is never going to join Russia in its lonely space flight. The Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine's Parliament, essentially said that Ukraine has finally gotten rid of communist-era illusions, embraced the harsh reality of the modern world and is now willing to work slowly and painfully, in order to climb out of a hole into which nearly a

⁷⁵ “Kharkiv sellout.” *Kyiv Post*. April 23, 2010.

⁷⁶ “Kharkiv sellout.”

⁷⁷ *ibid*.

century of communism has put it.⁷⁸

One may argue that it is not so much negative international identity perceptions between Ukraine and Russia, but rather its positive international identity perceptions of the EU, or even Germany, by Ukraine, which causes Ukraine to break its economic agreements with Russia. Ukraine, while exploring its independence, perceives the EU's international identity as positive and thus looks to further affiliate itself with a 'like' regime. Ukraine begins to consider the EU as a more suitable regime partner and makes decisions to align itself with the EU formally. Russia may see this as a threatening action and make its own choice to combat this maneuver by Ukraine, quite literally, due to its own negative international identity perception of the EU. The complex interplay of international identity perception as shown here is a reasonable argument and one that garners future research. However, this study analyzes the dyadic relationship between Ukraine and Russia and including additional relationships is beyond the scope of this research.

The economic agreements and contextual information:

Prior to the Russian annexation of Crimea, Ukraine made prominent moves to join a customs union with Russia by initialing agreements to join the Eurasian Customs Union, which subsequently became the Eurasian Economic Union in 2011.⁷⁹ The Eurasian Economic Union enables the free movement of services and capital among Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan with potential members Armenia and Ukraine. The Eurasian Economic

⁷⁸ Alexei Bayer. "In rejecting Soviet era, Ukraine moves ahead." *Kyiv Post*. April 17, 2019.

⁷⁹ Andrew Gardner. "Russia forges 'epoch-making Eurasian Economic Union.'" *Politico*. May 29, 2014. <https://www.politico.eu/article/russia-forges-epoch-making-urasian-economic-union/>

Union covers a market of 170 million people with a combined economic output of \$2.28 trillion in 2012.⁸⁰ The customs union increased trade among member countries by 47% since its creation in 2010 and official projections suggest that the combined member economies could expand by 25% by 2030.⁸¹ The Eurasian Economic Union also allows Russians, Belarusians and Kazakhs to work in member countries without the need of work permits, allowing for a growing job market and expanded economy. Along with this breakthrough in economic policy or ‘epoch-making’, Russia also signed a “long term gas deal with China that Russia values at € 400 billion” in May 2014.⁸² This made Russia appealing to Ukrainian interests predominantly because Ukraine is already largely dependent on Russia economically and a successful Russian economy means a successful Ukrainian economy. If Ukraine were to join the Eurasian Economic Union it would further intertwine Ukraine and Russia, making Ukraine dependent on Russia once again.

In response to the appeal to the Eurasian Economic Union in November 2013, Ukraine pulled out of the Association Agreement (AA) and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Association Agreement (DCFTA) with the EU, resulting in massive “anti-government, pro-European protests” throughout Ukraine known as Euromaidan.⁸³ The AA-DCFTA proposed to improve Ukraine’s political and long-term economic outlook with the EU by “covering all trade-related areas” with a “higher degree of alignment with the EU’s

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² *ibid.*

⁸³ Oksana Grytsenko. “Yanukovich dodges details on Russia deal.” *Kyiv Post*. December 20, 2013.

legislative framework.”⁸⁴ The EU-Ukraine AA-DCFTA included a tariff offer and the adoption of the EU trade acquis which covered a wide area of sub-groups like competition, public procurement, customs and trade facilitation, protection of intellectual property rights, and trade related-energy aspects.⁸⁵ Several Ukrainian studies concluded that the AA-DCFTA between Ukraine and the EU would increase welfare gains in Ukraine and “positively affect the real GDP growth” but Ukrainian president, Viktor Yanukovich determined an agreement with Russia was the better alternative.⁸⁶

Yanukovich pulled out of the EU AA-DCFTA and made a deal with Russian president, Vladimir Putin, to secure an “indefinite one-third price discount on Russian natural gas imports and a \$15 billion loan” to help Ukraine’s deteriorating economy.⁸⁷ This was considered a “clear sign of reorientation in Ukrainian foreign policy back to Russia” among international actors and Ukrainians, which went against Yanukovich’s years of pro-EU promises.⁸⁸ It appeared that Yanukovich backed out of the AA-DCFTA when European demands for Ukraine to update its electoral processes and cut corruption clouded his

⁸⁴ Igor Burakovsky, Kateryna Kutsenko, Hanna Chukhai, Alla Kobylanska, Veronika Movchan, Yevgen Razdorzhny, and Natalia Sysenko. “Costs and Benefits of FTA between Ukraine and the European Union.” *Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting* (2010): 9

⁸⁵ “Countries and regions: Ukraine,” European Commission, April 16, 2018, <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/ukraine/>.

⁸⁶ “Costs and Benefits of FTA between Ukraine and the European Union,” The Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting (IER), Accessed January 2019, retrieved <http://www.ier.com.ua/en>. (cited in Burakovsky 2010). See also “The Prospect of Deep Free Trade Between the European Union and Ukraine,” Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Report prepared by Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels; Institut für Weltwirtschaft (IFW), Kiel; International Centre for Policy Studies (ICPS), Kyiv. Retrieved from <https://www.ceps.eu/topics/ukraine>

⁸⁷ Oksana Grytsenko. “Yanukovich dodges details on Russia deal.” *Kyiv Post*. December 20, 2013.

⁸⁸ Katya Gorchinskaya. “Ukraine backs out of landmark EU offer.” *Kyiv Post*. November 22, 2013.

willingness to go European, claiming that “severe financial difficulties” prompted him to continue negotiations with Russia.⁸⁹

Yanukovych adamantly proclaimed that he did not agree to return to Putin’s “pet project”, the Eurasian Customs Union, but was vague on what compensation Ukraine promised Russia in return for this reorientation to the East.⁹⁰ The EU, however, indicated that if Ukraine continued negotiations with the EU, Ukraine could have received \$26 billion in financial aid and loans from the European bloc of nations.⁹¹

Yanukovych’s backroom deals increased feelings of distrust of the government, which made the push European integration even stronger among Ukrainian citizens and Western nations alike. Ukrainians felt that European integration meant intricate checks on government, which resulted in lower chances for high up corruption and personal vendettas controlling foreign policy among political officials. The EU saw Ukraine as a viable resource for imports and a way to spread its sphere of influence to the East. Although the new deal with Russia would potentially alleviate Ukraine’s economic downturn, the continued dependence on Russia triggered negative sentiments of Russia’s opportunistic tendencies and aggression toward Ukraine.

This tilt from a Western-looking Ukraine was quickly back to a Russia-leaning East. Leading up to Euromaidan, the general consensus among Ukrainian mass media was an urgency to alleviate Ukraine’s economic dependence on Russia for both economic and geopolitical reasons. These reasons largely included Ukraine’s willingness to assert itself as

⁸⁹Nadia Diuk. “EUROMAIDAN: Ukraine’s Self-Organizing Revolution.” *World Affairs* 176, no. 6 (2014): 11.

⁹⁰ Oksana Grytsenko. “Yanukovych dodges details on Russia deal.” *Kyiv Post*. December 20, 2013.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

an independent and European state that was fatigued from Russia's constant bullying and strong-arming as an economic partner and geopolitical hegemon.⁹² However, it was widely understood that Ukraine could not be fully European with continued dependence on Russia and that Russia would not accept Ukraine as a European Union member. Russian leaders expressed how the EU had little regard for their shared interest in Ukraine and did what they could to lure Ukraine into Russia's sphere of influence leaving Ukraine to choose between two mutually exclusive international partners for economic relief and democratic reform.⁹³

The "freeze in relations with the European Union in favor of a tilt back towards Moscow" lead to three months of mass protests with hundreds of thousands of protestors, demanding a shift back towards Europe.⁹⁴ Euromaidan quickly became violent, as state sponsored forces brutally attacked protestors occupying Independence Square in the center of Kyiv as calls for Yanukovich's impeachment soared. He was removed from office on February 22, 2014.

Following Euromaidan, Ukraine pulled away from the Eurasian Customs Union and the interim government signed the AA with the EU on March 21, 2014 but waited to sign any trade-specific deals until after the presidential elections in May. However, later that month, DCFTA discussions were delayed as Russia invaded the Ukrainian territory of Crimea.

⁹² *Kyiv Post* articles analyzed in this study

⁹³ Andrew Gardner. "Russia forges 'epoch-making Eurasian Economic Union.'" *Politico*. May 29, 2014. <https://www.politico.eu/article/russia-forges-epoch-making-eurasian-economic-union/>

⁹⁴ Oksana Grytsenko. "Yanukovich dodges details on Russia deal." *Kyiv Post*. December 20, 2013. See also Nadia Diuk. "EUROMAIDAN: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution." *World Affairs* 176, no. 6 (2014): 9-16.

In addition to fully removing itself from any association with the Eurasian Economic Union following the crisis in Crimea, Ukraine revised other economic agreements with Russia through the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Free Trade Agreement (FTA) of 2011. This trade agreement replaced the CIS-FTA of 1994 following the dissolution of the USSR.⁹⁵ Member countries include Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. The only remaining Soviet Republics that did not join the agreement included Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The CIS agreement includes policies beyond the economy including foreign relations, defense, immigration policies, environmental protection, and law enforcement.⁹⁶

As one might expect, the Russian annexation of Crimea displayed negative international identity perceptions between the partners. The deep economic dependence and political ties between the two countries created difficulties in breaking economic relations with one another. In January 2016, Russia suspended the FTA with Ukraine as a response to the EU-Ukraine Deep and Comprehensive FTA that launched during the same period as Ukraine expected.⁹⁷ Russia also imposed an import ban on certain food and agricultural products, which eventually led President Poroshenko to withdraw all Ukrainian envoys from the CIS's statutory bodies.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Nataliia Isakhanova and Olesia Kryvetska. "Trade restrictions and WTO disputes in Ukraine-Russia trade relations." *Getting The Deal Through*. August 22, 2018. <https://gettingthedealthrough.com/area/51/article/29282/trade-customs-2019-trade-restrictions-wto-disputes-ukrainerussia-trade-relations/>

⁹⁶ "Commonwealth of Independent States: International Organization." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. July 24, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Commonwealth-of-Independent-States>

⁹⁷ Nataliia Isakhanova and Olesia Kryvetska. "Trade restrictions and WTO disputes in Ukraine-Russia trade relations." *Getting The Deal Through*. August 22, 2018. <https://gettingthedealthrough.com/area/51/article/29282/trade-customs-2019-trade-restrictions-wto-disputes-ukrainerussia-trade-relations/>

⁹⁸ Nataliia Isakhanova and Olesia Kryvetska. "Trade restrictions."

Ukraine responded to many of these Russian bans by applying its own import bans for certain products from Russia.⁹⁹ These bans included various products from 2016 to the end of 2018. However, even with these bans, there is still an active trade relationship between Ukraine and Russia, but this relationship is highly volatile and trade is often used more as a defense instrument in bilateral trade because trade protectionism is particularly tender.¹⁰⁰

Even with the continuing violence, bilateral trade between Russia and Ukraine grew by nearly a third.¹⁰¹ The complex relationship between the two countries, particularly during the annexation of Crimea, exposed the conflicts between economic dependence and political and cultural independence. Ukrainians would boycott Russian products to protest Russia's actions in Crimea and assert "economic patriotism."¹⁰² Movements like these spread throughout mostly western Ukraine to show that Ukrainians were independent and capable of living without Russian products while those in the east were less concerned with movements like these.¹⁰³ Ukraine found itself in the middle of breaking its economic dependence with Russia and establishing its economic relationship with the EU even though each of these movements directly conflicted with the other. The EU became hesitant to fully embrace Ukraine as a member due to fear of irritating or angering Russia and Russia wanted to punish Ukraine for aligning with the West.¹⁰⁴ Ukraine's trade with both

⁹⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Nolan Peterson. "Long at war with each other, Ukraine and Russia trade on." *Newsweek*. January 28, 2018. <https://www.newsweek.com/long-war-each-other-ukraine-and-russia-trade-793142>

¹⁰² Evan Ostryzniuk. "Boycotting Russia comes into vogue." *Kyiv Post*. April 18, 2014.

¹⁰³ Within the first month of boycotting Russian retail products there was a 40% drop in demand for those products. Products do not include gas. At the time, Kremlin-controlled Gazprom supplied Ukraine with 50% of its total state supply. See (Ostryzniuk 2014)

the EU and Russia increased by the same percent, emphasizing Ukraine's struggle to commit to one side or the other.¹⁰⁵ Ukraine was in a war to "ostensibly divest itself from Russia's sphere of influence" and insert itself in a pro-Western position even though it was equally dependent on both sides of the war.

Even with the conflict of interest, it is obvious that Ukraine looks to break from its dependence on Russia and enhance its relationship with the EU and the West:

Yanukovych's foreign policy goals appear logical. A free trade arrangement with the European Union would open the door for Ukrainian exporters to the world's richest common market. Practical cooperation with NATO deepens Kyiv's link with the leading Euro-Atlantic institution, even if Ukraine does not seek to join.¹⁰⁶

Meanwhile, Ukrainian and Russian interests do not always align. They bicker over the price of natural gas – a "zero-sum" game, as any price cut for Kyiv would mean lower revenues for Russian gas giant Gazprom.¹⁰⁷

Deeper relations with Europe and the West make sense in their own right for Ukraine, and they will strengthen Yanukovych's hand in dealing with Moscow on problem issues. But how far can he develop those relations when he is increasingly viewed in the West as instilling a more authoritarian political system at home? ¹⁰⁸

By formally withdrawing from trade agreements with Russia, Ukraine shows that there is a desire to remove itself from Russia even though other agreements are still present. It seems that it is easier for Ukraine and Russia to make deals on the side and in

¹⁰⁵ Nolan Peterson. "Long at war with each other, Ukraine and Russia trade on." *Newsweek*. January 28, 2018. <https://www.newsweek.com/long-war-each-other-ukraine-and-russia-trade-793142>

¹⁰⁶ Steven Pifer. "Undemocratic values will isolate Ukraine." *Kyiv Post*. July 29, 2011.

¹⁰⁷ Steven Pifer. "Undemocratic values." *Kyiv Post*. July 29, 2011.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid*.

markets that the political leaders understand than to adhere to strategies that make Ukrainian products more competitive in the West.¹⁰⁹

There is a prominent disconnect between the futures of Russia and Ukraine. Russian president Putin is confident that strong-arming Ukrainian land and economy will bring Ukraine back under its sphere of influence and Ukrainian president Poroshenko is confident that Ukraine will join the EU and be fully rid of Russia.¹¹⁰ There is undoubtedly a strong but dwindling economic relationship between the two countries but Ukraine has made formal arrangements to withdraw from Russian trade agreements following the annexation of Crimea due to negative international identity perceptions between the partners as being a corrupt, anti-democratic, aggressive and unreliable international regime partner.

Understanding the data:

Putin's desire for Novorossiia or "New Russia" takes on new meaning as Russian forces take over Crimea and Ukrainian separatists take control of Ukrainian territory to the east. Evidence shows that issues of economic dependence are quickly put to the side, as security and territorial sovereignty become the focus of Ukrainian media. Data shows that frequency raw counts in security related determinants (coercive/intimidating/controlling) rise from 32 in 2013 to 302 in 2014 and then 329 in 2015 and raw count determinants related to territory rise from 6 in 2013 to 18 in 2014 and 22 in 2015.

Determinants relating to economics also shift. The determinant "good/fair economic partner/prospect," raw counts show a decrease from 75 2013 to 21 in 2014 to 8 in 2015

¹⁰⁹ Nolan Peterson. "Long at war with each other" *Newsweek*. January 28, 2018.

¹¹⁰ *ibid*.

and the determinant “economic benefit monetarily” shifts from 34 in 2011 to 15 in 2012 to 3 in 2013. A shift changes again in 2014 when it rises slightly to 9 in 2014 but then back to 3 in 2015. Although there is a very distinct difference between these two determinants, there is still a notable shift in both determinants in 2014, the year of the annexation of Crimea. This shows that international identity perceptions change during which notable events occur, which I argue is partially due to elites promoting international identity perceptions which eventually lead to breaks in economic agreements.

This case is interesting because of the Russian invasion of the Ukrainian territory of Crimea. I argue that this invasion, along with negative international identity perspectives affects the state choice to break from the economic arrangement, but that the invasion was also partially influenced by negative international identity perspectives.

There is also a significant shift in the determinant “politically beneficial/complimentary” leading up to the annexation of Crimea. There is a significant decrease in frequency from 2012 at 60 to 15 in 2013 and then a rise in 2014 to 129. From 2009 to 2012, there is a steady frequency of this determinant, which is largely negative (according to the aggregated valence values). In 2013, there is a positive shift in perception which then starkly becomes negative in 2014, going from being mentioned as positive in 51% to 75% of the data that year to being 76% to 100% negative the following year in 2014. This intense shift shows how the year of the annexation drastically changes international identity perceptions toward Russia. Although it seems logical that negative identity perceptions would emerge as one country invades another, this study would suggest that it is the emphasis on the negative identity perceptions that ultimately terminate the economic arrangement. The economic arrangement is still in tact up until

2014, due in part to the positive international identity perceptions shown here but then ceases as these perceptions change.

This shift is obvious in the *Kyiv Post*. Political elites, like Putin and Yanukovych, attempt to portray positive international identity perspectives towards the relationship between Ukraine and Russia. Putin displays positive international identity perspectives toward Ukraine in 2012, but as the second passage suggests, negative international identity perspectives grow as the threat of “contamination” arises after political revolutions in Ukraine.¹¹¹

...Putin’s statement at the meeting: “Russia treats the Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian language with respect. In Russia there are more than three million Ukrainians. And if we take also families, then this figure is two to three times more. A lot of friendly relations and historical ties bind us to pay attention to the humanitarian component of today's meeting.”¹¹²

As the Russian state grew stronger after Vladimir Putin’s rise to power, and especially as its fears of “contamination” grew after Georgia’s Rose and Ukraine’s Orange Revolutions, it began to intervene more forcefully on behalf of its “countrymen” in the so-called near abroad. For example, Russia has granted citizenship to residents Georgia’s breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, later using this as a pretext for military intervention on behalf of its “citizens.”¹¹³

Yanukovych and his political affiliation in the Party of Regions, also display positive international identity perspectives toward Russia in 2012 by promoting Russian culture and influence in Ukraine. The *Kyiv Post* describes Yanukovych’s attempts to promote

¹¹¹ Emmet Tuohy. “Language law: liberal rhetoric, radical agenda.” *Kyiv Post*. August 2014, 2012.

¹¹² “Gruesome trade.” *Kyiv Post*. July 20, 2012.

¹¹³ Emmet Tuohy. “Language law: liberal rhetoric, radical agenda.” *Kyiv Post*. August 2014, 2012.

Russian influence as a way to distract the public from the troubling economic and democratic circumstances Ukraine finds itself in.

The short term is, however, a different story; as a weaker economy and a stronger political opposition have endangered the Party of Regions' electoral prospects, the language issue has become the perfect way to distract voters while rewarding the pro-Russian activists in the party's base.¹¹⁴

Although the *Kyiv Post* describes these cultural maneuvers as distractions, there is evidence to show that Russian cultural influence is still a prominent issue and point of contention among Ukrainians.

The grievances proclaimed by the "defenders of Russian culture" in Ukraine are strikingly similar to those expressed by similar groups in places from Estonia and Latvia to Moldova and even Central Asia. Not surprisingly, they share a common historical origin – and a common "rodina" from which to draw inspiration – to say nothing of financial or organizational resources.¹¹⁵

Ukrainian, Kivalov valiantly sought to emphasize points of mutual agreement, praising the Commission for "finally recogniz[ing] the well-known fact" of the historical basis for Russian in Ukraine.¹¹⁶

By removing Ukrainian from its position at the local level, the law is virtually guaranteed to promote Russian mono-lingualism in the south and east of the country (Party of Regions).¹¹⁷

The relationship between Ukraine and Russia shows positive international identity perceptions in 2012. Although there are obvious discrepancies in identity, the attitude

¹¹⁴ Emmet Tuohy. "Language law."

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

toward the relationship is not concerned with the other as an imminent threat to the other. There is sporadic, but not consistent discourse about the threats that the regime partners possess, but as the data shows, this will change drastically in the years to come with the annexation of Crimea.

Certainly, Ukraine is no Russian puppet. Though cooperation between the two countries has deepened considerably under President Viktor Yanukovich, the divergent interests of pro-presidential Ukrainian elites from those of their Russian counterparts provide a natural limit to cooperation in the long term.¹¹⁸

Raw Count Totals: Ukraine and Russia

Determinants	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Corrupt/Opportunistic	39	14	1	30	26	40	13	163
Coercive/Intimidating/Controlling	58	41	20	10	32	302	329	792
Recognize Ukraine and Russia as one territory	10	6	2	0	6	18	22	64
Good/Fair Economic Partner/Prospect	18	36	28	34	75	21	8	220
Cooperative/Responsible/Reliable	37	31	14	39	28	23	79	251
Economic Benefit (monetarily)	32	26	34	15	3	9	3	122
Upholds Similar National and State Values/Rule of Law/Rights	33	23	42	10	7	17	21	153
Politically Beneficial/Complimentary	86	74	55	60	15	129	83	502
Honor/Observe Common Culture/History	107	52	46	17	38	89	56	405
Dependency as asset	31	20	29	10	17	0	0	107
Growth/Progressive/Inclusive	10	5	9	2	14	3	5	48
Total	461	328	271	227	261	651	619	2,818

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

Valence Figures: Ukraine and Russia

Determinants	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Corrpt/Opportunistic	1-, 38+, 0/	0-, 14+, 0/	0-, 1+, 0/	9-, 21+, 0/	1-, 25+, 0/	1-, 39+, 0/	0-, 13+, 0/
Coersive/Intimidating/Controlling	5-, 53+, 0/	7-, 33+, 1/	0-, 20+, 0/	2-, 8+, 0/	0-, 32+, 0/	4-, 298+, 0/	0-, 329+, 0/
Recognize Ukraine and Russia as one territory	5-, 5+, 0/	3-, 3+, 0/	1-, 1+, 0/	0-, 0+, 0/	2-, 4+, 0/	10-, 8+, 0/	11-, 11+, 0/
Good/Fair Economic Partner/Prospect	16-, 1+, 1/	34-, 2+, 0/	20-, 4+, 4/	28-, 5+, 1/	52-, 15+, 8/	19-, 1+, 1/	8-, 0+, 0/
Cooperative/Responsible/Reliable	34-, 3+, 0/	31-, 0+, 0/	14-, 0+, 0/	34-, 5+, 0/	25-, 3+, 0/	23-, 0+, 0/	79-, 0+, 0/
Economic Benefit (monetarily)	6-, 21+, 5/	8-, 14+, 4/	14-, 17+, 3/	15-, 0+, 0/	3-, 0+, 0/	4-, 5+, 0/	1-, 2+, 0/
Upholds Similar National and State Values/Rule of Law/Rights	32-, 1+, 0/	19-, 2+, 2/	29-, 12+, 1/	9-, 1+, 0/	5-, 2+, 0/	13-, 4+, 0/	20-, 1+, 0/
Politically Beneficial/Complimentary	66-, 14+, 6/	39-, 18+, 17/	40-, 14+, 1/	43-, 11+, 6/	5-, 8+, 2/	120-, 9+, 0/	82-, 1+, 0/
Honor/Observe Common Culture/History	78-, 12+, 17/	17-, 15+, 20/	26-, 14+, 6/	13-, 3+, 1/	27-, 11+, 0/	60-, 28+, 1/	37-, 19+, 0
Dependency as asset	20-, 8+, 3/	19-, 1+, 0/	9-, 9+, 2/	10-, 0+, 0/	17-, 0+, 0/	0-, 0+, 0/	0-, 0+, 0/
Growth/Progressive/Inclusive	10-, 0+, 0/	5-, 0+, 0/	9-, 0+, 0/	2-, 0+, 0/	14-, 0+, 0/	3-, 0+, 0/	5-, 0+, 0/

Aggregate Valence Symbols: Ukraine and Russia

Determinants	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Corrpt/Opportunistic	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /
Coersive/Intimidating/Controlling	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- +++) /
Recognize Ukraine and Russia as one territory	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- +)	(- +++) /	(- ++)	(- ++)
Good/Fair Economic Partner/Prospect	(- +++) /	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)
Cooperative/Responsible/Reliable	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)
Economic Benefit (monetarily)	(- +++) /	(- +++) /	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- +++) /	(- +++) /
Upholds Similar National and State Values/Rule of Law/Rights	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)
Politically Beneficial/Complimentary	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- +++) /	(- ++)	(- ++)
Honor/Observe Common Culture/History	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- +++) /	(- ++)	(- ++)
Dependency as asset	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- +)	(- +)
Growth/Progressive/Inclusive	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)	(- ++)

Newspaper articles emphasize these concerns by describing Putin's plans to destroy Ukraine in the hopes of rebuilding a Soviet empire. Putin's disregard for Ukrainians follows a consistent narrative of "Russians and Ukrainians (as) one nation, artificially torn apart"

due to centuries of poor international policy.¹¹⁹ Putin sees Ukraine and Russia as two weak parts of one nation that can only recover by reuniting.¹²⁰ Putin describes Ukraine as a weak portion of Russia that must be saved.

Ukrainian attitudes towards the international relationship with Russia are split between East and West. Eastern Ukrainians tend to be Russophiles while Western Ukrainians are often pro-European. All Ukrainians recognize their history with Russia but always as a separate state with intertwining, but separate, nationhoods. Ukrainians recognize a history that often includes Russia but are clear to show that the nations are not the same through examples like distinct historical narratives. Western Ukrainians are generally much more concerned with distinguishing Ukraine as an entirely separate state and nation and associate negative identity perceptions to Russia like corruption, non-Western, anti-democratic and aggressive determinants. Eastern Ukrainians recognize Ukraine as a separate state but a similar nation where Russian influences are welcomed and normalized and positive identity determinants are associated with their Russian partners like Russophile and similar nation and culture. But although the skeletons of these perception determinants remain after the annexation of Crimea, a more united Ukraine develops when war breaks out.

Prior to the Russian annexation of Crimea, there was consistent discourse considering Ukraine's economic dependence on Russia as an unreliable but nonetheless, an economic benefit to Ukraine. After the annexation, there is little concern about what Russia brings to the table other than an imminent threat to sovereignty. As the data shows, the narrative changes from discussions about the economic benefits of continuing an economic

¹¹⁹ Oksana Grytsenko. "Putin's 10-point plan to destroy Ukraine." *Kyiv Post*. April 18, 2014.

¹²⁰ *ibid*.

relationship, or any relationship at all, with Russia to a battle between negative international identity perceptions between Russia as the East and the positive international identity perceptions between the EU as the West. Economic discourse is taken over by sovereign threats and the discussion for Russia as an economic partner fades as the urgency to remove Ukraine from Russia's sphere of influence enhances. This shows how Ukrainian attitudes toward Russia influence the international identity perceptions of the relationship with Russia as an economic partner and benefit to an all around enemy regardless of economic value.

Russia is often depicted as an overbearing entity, but after the annexation these attitudes spike considerably. The idea of the threat versus the materialization of that threat changes the overall attitude towards the relationship with Russia. There is less mentioned about Russian co-existence and more about the imminent death of Ukraine with Putin doing "everything possible to destabilize Ukraine" promoting "the breakup of the entire nation."¹²¹ Russia is described as the antithesis of everything Ukrainian. In every EU integration narrative as a positive move for Ukraine, there is often an equal narrative expressing Russia as the exact opposite. European integration becomes a large topic throughout Ukrainian media because of the concentrated negative identity perception of Russia and its influences on Ukraine's victimization. Russia is portrayed as an affliction that threatens Ukrainian economic independence, democratic freedom and territorial sovereignty while the EU is seen as the protector of all of these qualities that Ukrainians cherish.

¹²¹ "Russia attacks east Ukraine in bid to dismember nation." *Kyiv Post*. April 18, 2014.

In eastern Ukraine, many citizens are neutral about becoming Russian. Some promote a referendum to let the people chose whether they want to be Ukrainian or Russian. They feel as though the Ukrainian government fails to represent their interests and feel their interests can be met under a Russian government.¹²² However, this changes as over half of the country votes in Petro Poroshenko as president in 2014, including some Ukrainians in the east.

After Petro Poroshenko won the presidential election in May 2014, European integration talks restarted. Poroshenko won almost 55% of the vote in a 21-candidate field.¹²³ Although Poroshenko previously supported corrupt regimes under Leonid Kuchma, Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovych as an oligarch, he won over the majority of Ukrainian voters as a presidential candidate with his overwhelming support of the democratic revolution.¹²⁴ Among issues of security and volatile Ukrainian and Russian relations, Ukrainians press the new president to end corruption, build the economy and advance Ukraine's integration into the EU.¹²⁵ Poroshenko takes on these concerns by making the EU one of his priorities.

Becoming European is greatly romanticized among Ukrainian media. Becoming European to many Ukrainians means legitimate democratic processes and leadership, territorial security, free and fair trade, a vast job market, and opportunities for growth and success as individuals and as a country. Although many of these qualities are required for EU membership, there is a great deal of hope and promise that is expressed vividly

¹²² *ibid.*

¹²³ Brian Bonner. "Ukrainians display unity landslide win by Poroshenko." *Kyiv Post*. May 30, 2014.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

throughout Ukrainian media. In a way, they express that many of their problems will disappear once they are part of the EU and that their relationship with Russia is the only factor blocking that positive future.

Russia's greatest control over Ukraine is the economy. This control goes beyond economic barriers and bleeds into politics and society. There are obvious and prominent Russian influences in all levels of Ukrainian society. That influence becomes negative when it smothers Ukrainian identity. By cutting economic dependence with Russia, Ukraine is able to express itself strongly as an independent Ukrainian state. The annexation of Crimea in 2014 heightened independent Ukrainian attitudes because it was directly threatened with the loss of territorial sovereignty. By exiting economic arrangements, Ukraine was making the conscious decision to strengthen itself as an independent and nationalistic entity while simultaneously threatening its economic wellbeing. Ukraine believed that exiting economic arrangements was the appropriate action to improve its stature as an independent state and nation.

Chapter 3: The United Kingdom and the European Union (Brexit)

Gathering the data

This chapter discusses the United Kingdom and the European Union as a dyadic international relationship. I argue that negative international identity perspectives eventually led these international regime partners to break their economic arrangement in the 2016 EU referendum known as Brexit. I prove this by examining *The Times* as a shared stock of knowledge that shows us how international identity perspectives affect state decision-making outcomes. The international identity determinants display the attitudes of the international relationship among the population, which contributes to the ultimate decision to break from the economic agreement in a way that is unique to this relationship.

Brexit is a colloquial term used to describe the United Kingdom's (UK) eventual exit from the European Union in 2016. The Brexit referendum pulled in 72.2% of the population to vote in the high stakes decision to stay in or leave the European Union.¹²⁶ This referendum would garner not only economic penalties but also social, cultural and geopolitical consequences both within the UK and abroad. In June 2016, the British electorate voted to leave the EU with 51.9% of the voting to leave and 48.1% to stay.¹²⁷

The demographic patterns of these votes differed throughout the UK. In England, 53.2% voted to leave with 46.8% to stay. In Scotland, 38.0% voted to leave and 62.0% voted to stay. In Wales, 52.5% voted to leave and 47.5 to stay and in Northern Ireland,

¹²⁶ Harry Brown. "Post-Brexit Britain: Thinking about 'English Nationalism' as a factor in the EU referendum." *International Politics Reviews* 5 (June 2017): 1-12.

¹²⁷ "EU referendum results." The Electoral Commission. Accessed January 2019. <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/electorate-and-count-information>.

44.2% voted to leave while 55.8% voted to stay.¹²⁸ The domestic voting patterns within each of these nations is important to understand how the ideas associated with leaving or remaining in the EU act as determinants to international identity. However, although there are differences in international identity perceptions within the UK, this study focuses on the general perceptions of the UK as a whole with considerations towards UK nations like Scotland, which was a nation that voted strong against the “Leave” campaign.

Mr Greer added in a statement: “The only thing standing in Scotland’s way to forging links with Europe is the Westminster government. Our parliament has voted to give the people a choice over their own future and no Tory government at Westminster should stand in the way of that.”

Stephen Gethins MP, the SNP’s European spokesman, said: “As this letter shows, there is a lot of sympathy among our European friends and neighbours for Scotland’s position – the people of Scotland voted overwhelmingly to remain in the EU, yet we are being dragged out of the world’s largest single market by a Tory government which we did not vote for.”¹²⁹

Understanding the decisions of voters to leave the EU is analyzed comprehensively through shared stocks of knowledge in both the UK and the EU. By analyzing popular shared stocks of knowledge, like newspapers, it is possible to understand why voters chose to leave the EU and as this study argues, what determinants are present in describing the UK’s relationship with the EU as a positive or negative.

It is important that the information is shared between the two regime partners to show the dyadic international identity relationship as a whole. The two international identity perspectives are distinct but difficult to differentiate, so for the purposes of this

¹²⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁹ Louis Emanuel. “Open letter a boost to Scotland’s EU ambitions.” *The Sunday Times*. April 9, 2017.

research I treat both partners the same. Both make decisions about the economic agreements accounting for international identity perspectives and not exclusively through cost-benefit motivations. The UK's perception of the EU and the UK's perception of its relationship with the EU are endogenous. It is a circular relationship in which the perception of the other is also a perception of the relationship, which is defined as positive, negative or neutral based upon context. This addresses international identity as an important factor in breaking from economic agreements but not as the only reason.

This chapter discusses the EU's basic structures and purposes and how the UK fits in to the system as a member. More specifically it discusses how the UK contributes to the EU and furthermore how the UK came to the narrow conclusion to introduce the Brexit referendum and exit the EU.

Data is gathered from one of the UK's most widely circulated newspapers, *The Times* from 2011 to 2017, showing the buildup to the introduction of the referendum to the year following. This timeline intends to analyze the discourses of the affected community and how it ultimately results in a negative international identity perception of the UK's relationship with the EU resulting in a broken economic agreement between the two.

The economic agreement and contextual information

The European Union is "wealthiest capitalist marketplace, the world's biggest trading power, and – along with the United States – one of the two most influential political actors in the world."¹³⁰ Although the EU is associated with many positive attributes like withstanding peace in Europe, general cooperation between EU countries and significant

¹³⁰ Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies (6th ed.)*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. p. 1

power and influence globally, the EU also raises a myriad of doubts and criticisms. Bouts of severe debt crises, the durability of the Euro, elitism within the EU, security concerns, and immigrant issues are all associated with the EU and its functionality also.

The first ideas of a united Europe formed after the devastation of World War 1. The materialized concept of this idea came to fruition in the similarly destructive aftermath of World War 2. The general consensus among Europeans was to set aside differences in favor of common interests like economic security, sustainable peace, the free movement of people, goods and services, and international power and influence.¹³¹

The first tangible steps toward integration began with the Treaty of Paris, signed in April 1951. The treaty created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which showcased the feasible benefits of cross-national integration. However, after the launch of the European Economic Community (EEC), membership expanded with the UK entering the Economic Community (EC) in 1973, eventually becoming the European Union in 1993 under the Maastricht Treaty.

The European Union is “an entity that has its own institutions and body of laws, twenty-eight member states and more than 500 million residents, a common currency used by more than half of its members, and increasing agreement on a wide range of common policy areas.”¹³² Olsen and McCormick (2017) argue that the European Union is largely misunderstood, making its appeal or criticisms hard to comprehend, particularly among its residents and the wider international community. Although this concept, addressed by Olsen and McCormick (2017), affects the larger European Community, I address how

¹³¹ Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (6th ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 2017.

¹³² Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (6th ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. p. 3

varying interpretations of the EU affects the outcomes of the Brexit referendum and what negative interpretations won over a majority of UK voters.

The European Union is the “largest economic bloc in the world, accounting for about one-fifth of global gross domestic product.”¹³³ Many issues surrounding this seemingly successful economic bloc include where revenue comes from and where expenditures go. Some generalized criticisms question the balance of national contributions towards struggling national economies, often bringing up questions of national leverage within the EU. The EU “was designed not to supersede national states but to allow them to cooperate while retaining political autonomy”, but in more recent years, many criticisms of the EU are often focused on this matter precisely, particularly in how members pay their due.¹³⁴

These issues became relevant with the UK in the 1970s, for the UK paid much more into the EU coffers than it received.¹³⁵ The EU failed to account for the relative size of member-state economies and revenues failed to meet the needs of the Community, which could not run a deficit and borrow to make up for its deficiencies.¹³⁶ Unlike the initial post-war period, the global economic landscape was changing from “embedded liberalism, characterized by strong domestic welfare states supported by international institutions,” to domestically centered national interest, characterized by “social democratic regulation of the economy and the political primacy of the nation-state.”¹³⁷ In 1979, the British Prime

¹³³ *ibid.* 6

¹³⁴ Jack Snyder. “The Broken Bargain.” *Foreign Affairs* 98 no. 2 (2019): 54-60.

¹³⁵ Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (6th ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 2017.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*

¹³⁷ John Ruggie (1982) called the arrangement “embedded liberalism” because it simultaneously welcomed the free market economic system while subjecting states to institutionalized control on the domestic and international levels. It coordinated economic policy while allowing flexibility in national interests. See also Jack Snyder. “The Broken Bargain.” *Foreign Affairs* 98 no. 2 (2019): 57.

Minister, Margret Thatcher, addressed the inequality of the system in her first European Council appearance, candidly demanding, “I want my money back.”¹³⁸

By 1984, after a long and complex series of debates and arrangements, a deal was finally reached. The UK was “given a rebate and its contribution was cut” and the value added tax (VAT) ceiling was set at 1.4 percent, increasing the Community’s own resources.¹³⁹ By 1988, more reforms ensued to create the modern EU system of revenue raising. Concisely, the new system of revenue sets the maximum budget at 1.25 percent of the combined gross domestic income (GNI) for member states, each member state pays a set amount to national contribution revenues based on its GNI (growing from 40.5 percent revenues from national contributions to 73 percent from 2000-2014), VAT revenues decreased from 38 percent in 2000 to 13.2 percent in 2014, and 12 percent of revenues in 2014 came from “customs duties on imports from nonmember states and from agricultural levies.”¹⁴⁰ The current system requires the richest member states contribute the most to the Union while the poorest “have the biggest net receipts”; an obvious issue for a leading economy like the UK.¹⁴¹

By 1993, Europe adopted a common market and the EU administered the flow of goods, services, money, and people.¹⁴² In 2002, 15 of the 18 EU member-states replaced their national currencies with the euro, advocating the promotion of European integration.

¹³⁸ Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (6th ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. p. 232

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, 232

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 232

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, 234

¹⁴² Jack Snyder. “The Broken Bargain.” *Foreign Affairs* 98 no. 2 (2019).

Critics, however, adamant the euro strips member states of their monetary sovereignty and political autonomy.¹⁴³

The UK, along with Denmark and Sweden, were among these euro critics. The euro meant a significant loss of sovereignty to these members. Financial decisions that were once a matter of domestic concern would become a matter of all nineteen Eurozone countries. National-interest would not be the concern of to EU decision makers but the interests of the greater European community. Each member state has different “economic cycles, economic structures, and levels of wealth and poverty” and each domestic economy formerly accounted for these variations, allowing them to “devalue, borrow, and adjust interest rates in response to changed economic circumstances.”¹⁴⁴ Under one currency, this is obviously not possible so members must attempt to coordinate themselves with their EU partners to maintain a fair system. Criticisms concerning the EU’s ability to manage fiscal policy in general were cause for concern as well, particularly as the Greek financial crisis and Eurozone crisis emerged around 2007.¹⁴⁵

Other issues dividing the UK from the rest of Europe included the “European Convention on Human Rights, the impact of EU rules on London’s financial services sector (and) the EU’s commitment to “ever closer union” for its member states.”¹⁴⁶ However, the UK’s proposal to “limit the right of legal EU migrants to claim social welfare benefits for up to four years” became a heated controversial matter and the central issue for David

¹⁴³ Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (6th ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. See also Jack Snyder. “The Broken Bargain.” *Foreign Affairs* 98 no. 2 (2019).

¹⁴⁴ Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (6th ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. pp. 248

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 242

Cameron's and the Tories' pledge for Brexit. Euroskepticism (primarily over economic impacts of the EU and immigration) won over many of the voters that led to the UK's eventual exit from the EU.¹⁴⁷

Euroskeptisim emerged as a "distinctively British phenomenon" in the mid 1980s to describe the "reservations and criticisms" that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher expressed toward the centralizing European Community.¹⁴⁸ Euroskeptisim, although originally coined as a British journalistic term, grew into a more generalizable skepticism of the European Union and is used by the media, professionals and academics alike. The wider use of euroskepticism as a concept amassed varying applications, muddling the refined definition of what it actually means.¹⁴⁹ Aguilera (2013) addresses many of these factors and defines euroskepticism as a term that "has more congruence applied to those with a strict view of European intergovernmental cooperation and a rejection of the supranational delegation of *sovereign* State responsibilities."¹⁵⁰

In 2016, the greater EU and the UK addressed some of these issues by allowing the UK to implement an "'emergency break" (to be released at a maximum of seven years)" in cases involving significant "levels of migration, sharply limiting welfare benefits to EU migrants."¹⁵¹ This, however, did not stop the wave of Brexit supporters and the referendum passed in June 2016.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Cesareo Rodriguez-Aguilera de Prat. *Euroscepticism, Europhobia and Eurocriticism: The Radical Parties of the Right and Left Vis-À-Vis The European Union*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2013. pp.21

¹⁴⁹ Cesareo Rodriguez-Aguilera de Prat. *Euroscepticism, Europhobia and Eurocriticism: The Radical Parties of the Right and Left Vis-À-Vis The European Union*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2013.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 22

¹⁵¹ Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies (6th ed.)*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. pp. 243

The “general collapse of confidence” in the EU, due to economic woes and political or national differences (in issues primarily concerning immigration), caused some members to turn inward to focus on national interest rather than the interests of the EU.¹⁵²

Understanding the data

The Brexit referendum was a manifestation of the UK’s dissatisfaction with the EU and its treatment toward the UK. The EU, as a multi-national entity, leaves members to follow the decisions of eurocrats with the EU as the primary interest rather than the interests of singular members.¹⁵³ The general loss of sovereignty over national interests (both at the citizen and state levels) causes Britons to question “the role of European integration and whether Parliament was sovereign or bound to the rule of law of a larger supranational body.”¹⁵⁴

The role and mindset of the EU is different than that of the UK. The EU formed under the tenets of an integrated Europe that would deter violence and promote a larger competitive economy that would create a multi-national global superpower. This is not to say that the UK is not for the successes of the EU, but rather it is national interest over multi-national interest at the center of UK decision-making processes where the EU is concerned with the survival of the multi-national organization. The nature of the international identity perceptions of the two regime partners, in this case, relate primarily on issues of sovereignty and the usefulness of the EU.

¹⁵² *ibid.*341

¹⁵³ Eurocrat is a nickname used for EU bureaucrats, particularly those working in the European Commission; Olsen, Jonathan and McCormick, John. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (6th ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 2017.

¹⁵⁴ Harry Brown. “Post-Brexit Britain: Thinking about ‘English Nationalism’ as a factor in the EU referendum.” *International Politics Reviews* 5 (2017): 6.

The determinants used for the UK and EU case emphasize popular discourses relating to the relationship between partners.. For example, the Eurozone crisis tested the institutions of the EU and the UK's willingness to help fix those problems; the same problems they attempted to avoid by denying the single currency. The Eurozone crisis displayed discourse among *The Times* articles removing the UK from the EU's problems.

French Prime Minister François Fillon received a resounding “non” to his pleas for Britain to send in the economic cavalry to save the euro by promoting deeper European integration. Britain, it seems, can either help harmonise the economic policies of EU countries, or stand back and try not to get British fingerprints on the Eurozone crime scene, which seems like a rather easy choice.¹⁵⁵

The disorderliness associated with the EU is a fixture in all of the analyzed data. The debt crisis and turmoil associated with Greece's bailout spending left many in the UK wondering why Greece was allowed to join the EU, and the EU hoping to continue further integration and Europeanization.¹⁵⁶ The UK's perception of the EU's mentality to muddle through left a feeling a doom among Britons who did not see any foreseeable sign of growth and improvement.

The EU has certainly made terrible mistakes: deepening its authority too far, widening too fast, sprouting volumes of unnecessary homogenizing regulation, failing to weed corruption out of its own bureaucracy. It has pushed and cheated its

¹⁵⁵ Kaya Burgess. "Shadow Chancellor fails examination in basic economics." *Times*, January 15, 2011. p. 110. *The Times Digital Archive*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9buT22>.

¹⁵⁶ Europeanization is “the process by which national policies and government structures in the member states have been changed and brought into alignment by European laws and policies; Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (6th ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. pp. 347

way into an overhasty monetary union between mismatched economies, and risked the whole project. But here it is, hanging together, just about...¹⁵⁷

Growing eurosclerosis throughout the UK and other member countries enhanced questions of the EU's usefulness to the UK.¹⁵⁸ Growing cynicism of the euro kept the EU on the defensive about the importance of unity although the UK saw this as another appeal to bailout weak member countries. The relationship between the EU and the UK at this point during the Eurozone crisis is strained. The UK feels taken advantage of with no return on its constant output to the EU and the EU sees the UK as a growing impediment to the homogeneity of the EU. However, the EU remains adamant that leaving the union would result in an even greater economic downturn to which the UK despairingly complies.

Turmoil in the eurozone has been aggravated by the design flaws of the single currency. A currency union can work only if there is a mechanism for transferring money from its stronger to its weaker members. No such arrangement exists in the eurozone. When (rather than if) it does, it will be a needed by fundamentally undemocratic expedient."¹⁵⁹

It cannot, either supplant the requirement that governments live within their means.¹⁶⁰

The Eurozone crisis enhanced sovereign sentiments across the UK. Sovereignty has always been an important condition to the UK, but looming awareness that there was

¹⁵⁷ Libby Purves. "Despite its faults, the EU deserves this prize." *Times*, 15 Oct. 2012, p. 21. *The Times Digital Archive*.

¹⁵⁸ Eurosclerosis is a "term used to describe the combination of slow economic growth, unemployment, and low rates of job creation in the EU; Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies (6th ed.)*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. pp. 347

¹⁵⁹ "Lehman's Legacy." *Times*, September 15, 2011. p. 2. *The Times Digital Archive*.

¹⁶⁰ "Lehman's Legacy." *Times*, September 15, 2011. p. 2. *The Times Digital Archive*.

“always the possibility of the UK being outvoted and forced to participate in (future) bailouts” forced Britons to come to the realization that a political and economic union with the EU came with a very expensive price tag and that there was very little they could do to control their own participation if they continued on with the agreement.¹⁶¹

EU leaders may have agreed that this (UK paying EU bailouts) will never happen again; but that agreement between EU politicians, some of whom have already lost their positions, has no legal force. What matters in legal terms is that the treaties would still say that decisions under Article 122 shall be taken by majority voting, and so the UK would have no veto power to prevent a recurrence.¹⁶²

Although the economic difficulties presented to the UK and the other EU members during the Eurozone crisis invited negative international identity perceptions toward the relationship between the UK and the EU, issues of immigration beguiled a significant amount of the British population that would also greatly effect the international identity perception of the relationship.

There is a great level of complexity surrounding immigrant issues between the UK and the EU. This is not a new issue between the parties. The Schengen Agreement, originally signed in 1985 with a second agreement in 1990, allowed for the “free movement

¹⁶¹ Osman Streater, and D. R. Cooper. "Why Europe really matters to Greece." *Times*, 15 May 2012, p. 22. *The Times Digital Archive*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9dABz8>.

¹⁶² *ibid.* See also Article 122 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Lisbon Treaty): 1.) Without prejudice to any other procedure provided for in the Treaties, the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, may decide, in a spirit of solidarity between Member States, upon the measures appropriate to the economic situation, in particular if severe difficulties arise in the supply of certain products, notably in the area of energy. 2.) Where a Member State is in difficulties or is seriously threatened with severe difficulties caused by natural disasters or exceptional occurrences beyond its control, the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, may grant, under certain conditions, Union financial assistance to the Member State concerned. The President of the Council shall inform the European Parliament of the decision taken.; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union art. [122], 2016 O.J. C 202/98, at [98] [hereinafter TFEU]. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:12016E122>

of people among signatory states.”¹⁶³ All EU member states agreed to participate in the Agreement except Britain, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland, Romania, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland.¹⁶⁴

Britain expressed concerns over the difficulties of controlling immigration as an island state and thus created additional restrictions and controls when entering Britain. However, the free movement of people across borders highlighted a growing number of issues with social welfare benefits, security, jobs, and refugee intake numbers. British Prime Minister, David Cameron expressed that it was too easy for migrants from overseas “to come here and take advantage of us.”¹⁶⁵

German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, addressed many of these issues by asserting that the free movement of people within the EU is not up for negotiation because it stands as one of the pillars of the EU and European integration. However, the weight of euroskepticism, as mentioned previously, took over these yearnings for a unified Europe.

¹⁶³ Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick. *The European Union: Politics and Policies (6th ed.)*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2017. pp. 241.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Roland Watson, David Charter, and Laura Pitel. "Cameron vows to cut benefits for migrants." *Times*, February 15, 2013, [1]+. *The Times Digital Archive*

Raw Count Totals: UK and EU

Determinants	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
Just/Fair/Equitable	15	16	28	0	16	7	20	102
Competitive/ Growing Market	11	16	23	4	11	7	19	102
Similar Views on Immigration	5	5	37	30	23	52	26	178
Beneficial Relationship	22	19	18	26	44	93	59	281
Dependency as asset	21	34	14	3	7	40	51	170
Good Economic Partner/Prospect	45	51	64	18	55	120	97	450
Trustworthy/Reliable/Cooperative/Responsible	34	41	8	13	19	23	28	166
Upholds Similar National and State Values/Rule of Law/Rights	22	36	114	48	50	79	99	448
Orderly/Pragmatic/Efficient	31	19	29	2	19	32	70	202
Security/Secure	5	5	0	0	5	25	17	57
Considerate of Each Other's Needs	30	35	29	18	39	50	39	240
Total	241	282	364	162	288	528	525	2,390

Valence Figures: UK and EU

Determinants	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Just/Fair/Equitable	13-, 2+, 0/	16-, 0+, 0/	23-, 5+, 0/	0-, 0+, 0/	16-, 0+, 0/	7-, 0+, 0/	20-, 0+, 0/
Competitive/ Growing Market	7-, 4+, 0/	17-, 2+, 3/	12-, 10+, 1/	4-, 0+, 0/	11-, 0+, 0/	4-, 3+, 0/	5-, 14+, 0/
Similar Views on Immigration	5-, 0+, 0/	0-, 0+, 5/	19-, 7+, 11/	12-, 12+, 2/	18-, 1+, 4/	39-, 12+, 0/	12-, 1+, 13/
Beneficial Relationship	19-, 3+, 0/	19-, 0+, 0/	17-, 1+, 0/	0-, 12+, 2/	22-, 13+, 9/	3-, 89+, 1/	8-, 51+, 0/
Dependency as asset	15-, 2+, 4/	32-, 2+, 0/	5-, 1+, 8/	0-, 3+, 0/	3-, 2+, 2/	20-, 20+, 0/	9-, 29+, 13/
Good Economic Partner/Prospect	37-, 8+, 0/	37-, 6+, 8/	30-, 16+, 18/	13-, 4+, 0/	42-, 8+, 5/	19-, 99+, 2/	19-, 74+, 4/
Trustworthy/Reliable/Cooperative/Responsible	31-, 3+, 0/	38-, 0+, 3/	7-, 1+, 0/	13-, 0+, 0/	16-, 1+, 2/	18-, 5+, 0/	20-, 6+, 2/
Upholds Similar National and State Values/Rule of Law/Rights	11-, 11+, 0/	26-, 4+, 6/	70-, 18+, 26/	30-, 15+, 3/	35-, 8+, 7/	49-, 28+, 2/	69-, 24+, 6/
Orderly/Pragmatic/Efficient	31-, 0+, 0/	19-, 0+, 0/	26-, 2+, 1/	2-, 0+, 0/	18-, 1+, 0/	32-, 0+, 0/	62-, 8+, 0/
Security/Secure	2-, 3+, 0/	0-, 5+, 0/	0-, 0+, 0/	0-, 0+, 0/	5-, 0+, 0/	20-, 5+, 0/	0-, 17+, 0/
Considerate of Each Other's Needs	30-, 0+, 0/	34-, 1+, 0/	29-, 0+, 0/	15-, 3+, 0/	33-, 6+, 0/	32-, 18+, 0/	33-, 6+, 0/

Aggregate Valence Symbols: UK and EU

Determinants	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Just/Fair/Equitable	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(-+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)
Competitive/ Growing Market	(--++ /)	(----+ /)	(--++ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(--++ /)	(--+++ /)
Similar Views on Immigration	(----+ /)	(-+ ///)	(--+/ /)	(--++ /)	(----+ /)	(--+/ /)	(--+/ /)
Beneficial Relationship	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(--++ /)	(--++ /)	(-++++ /)	(-++++ /)
Dependency as asset	(--+/ /)	(----+ /)	(--+/ /)	(-++++ /)	(--++ /)	(--++ /)	(-++++ /)
Good Economic Partner/Prospect	(----+ /)	(--+/ /)	(--+/ /)	(--+/ /)	(----+ /)	(-++++ /)	(-++++ /)
Trustworthy/Reliable/Cooperative/Responsible	(----+ /)	(--+/ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(--+/ /)	(--+/ /)
Upholds Similar National and State Values/Rule of Law/Rights	(--++ /)	(----+ /)	(--+/ /)	(--++ /)	(--+/ /)	(--++ /)	(--+/ /)
Orderly/Pragmatic/Efficient	(----+ /)	(-++++ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)
Security/Secure	(-+++ /)	(----+ /)	(-+ /)	(-+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(-++++ /)
Considerate of Each Other's Needs	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(----+ /)	(--++ /)	(----+ /)

The data gathered from *The Times* begins with a generally negative international identity perception of the UK and EU relationship but then as Brexit becomes a greater possibility, there is a slight change to the perception of the relationship by those at *The Times*. The data gathered up until the first discernable considerations for Brexit is generally negative, particularly in determinants related to how the relationship fails as an orderly and pragmatic regime, how beneficial the relationship is economically and how beneficial the relationship is in general (including security, political, or cultural concerns in outside of economic benefit).

Between 2014 and 2015, the frequency of discourses surrounding the orderliness of the regime jumps from 2 to 19 and then up again to 32 in 2016 and to 70 in 2017 after the referendum. Although international identity perceptions remain largely negative throughout these changes in frequency, the context of that negativity shifts.

Leading up to the referendum, negative international identity perceptions of orderliness are generally concerned with failure to effectively manage the single currency and the Eurozone crisis. Following the referendum, orderliness is largely concerned with UK and EU negotiations following the Brexit referendum as EU members and the UK attempt to renegotiate the relationship between the former regime partners.

Determinants relating to economic benefit show significant differences in both frequency and valence patterns. In 2013, frequency drops from 64 to 18 in 2014. By 2015, frequency rises again to 55 and then a staggering 120 in 2016. The data shows that discourses relating to economic rise significantly the year of the referendum while also shifting international identity perspectives from largely negative to predominantly positive. In 2015, negative international identity perceptions in the annual aggregate data are between 76%-100% of the data and by 2016 the annual aggregate data shifts to 76%-100% positive international identity perspectives in the analyzed data. This statistic shows how negative international identity perspectives may be a partial explanation to the UK vote to leave the EU. However, with data suggesting that the economic benefits of remaining with the EU versus the economic deficits of leaving the EU, this study would assume that the discourse surrounding the relationship as an economic benefit may be skewed to influenced to meet desired international identity outcomes by political elites.

Even still, with the Brexit vote winning by such slim margins (51.9% choosing to leave and 48.1% to remain) the data does speak to a significant portion of the population

because there is still discourse explaining the faults associated with the relationship between the UK and the EU throughout newspaper articles.¹⁶⁶

Only the most ardent EU-philes would disagree with his diagnosis that the Europe project has run far ahead of democratic legitimacy as the sick euro forces it to centralize more power.¹⁶⁷

Prime Minister David Cameron and the Tory party campaigned strongly of national interest above multi-national interest. These conservative influencers win over a majority of the northern cities in England and Wales, the Midlands, and the south and east areas of England.¹⁶⁸ The demographic for the leave vote were generally older with fewer graduates and had the most people who identified as English.¹⁶⁹ This consideration of international identity between the UK and the EU motivated supporters of the “Leave” campaign to vote against an international relationship that was understood negatively in order to embolden ideas of “splendid isolation and patriotism.”¹⁷⁰ The chasm between Englishness and the push for European integration in the EU (both determinants of identity) contributed to how Britons voted in the EU referendum. Cameron accentuated the “Leave” campaign by highlighting the economic flaws of its arrangement with the EU.

¹⁶⁶ “EU referendum results.” The Electoral Commission. Accessed February 2019.
<https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/electorate-and-count-information>.

¹⁶⁷ Bremner, Charles. "Sharp diagnosis of a very European sickness." *Times*, April 15, 2013, 22.
The Times Digital Archive

¹⁶⁸ “EU referendum: The result in maps and charts.” BBC News. June 24, 2016.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36616028>

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ “Political Class.” *The Times*. April 15, 2014.

The Prime Minister said that the chaos in the eurozone presented Britain with the chance to begin loosening its ties with Brussels.¹⁷¹

The rise in nationalism in England is thought to be a significant factor in the EU referendum.¹⁷² The rise in English nationalism encompasses anti-immigration rhetoric that is present in many of Cameron's campaigns along with those of the Tory party. This creates conflicting values between those in England and the UK and the rest of the EU. The principles of the EU and the UK's national priorities clash and result in a negative dyadic international identity perception that leads to the breaking of the Union and embedded economic agreement.

The star campaigner (Boris Johnson) for the Leave camp brushed aside warnings from Britain's official statistics watchdog to make a series of controversial claims about the EU budget.

Mr Johnson repeated the claim that the UK sends £350 million a week to Brussels despite a second warning from Sir Andrew Dilnot, head of the UK Statistics Authority, that the figure was "potentially misleading". He wrote to the campaign on Tuesday to say it was disappointing that it continued to use a figure, which he regards as lacking in clarity.¹⁷³

Negative international identity perceptions between the UK and the EU result in decisions that eventually lead to the end of the economic arrangement between the two. Certainly, there are cost-benefit aspects to this decision, but there is also evidence of innate international identity perceptions in these decisions. The UK's dedication to sovereignty

¹⁷¹ Roland Watson Political Editor, and David Charter. "It's Europe's toughest hour since war: Merkel." *The Times*, November 15, 2011.

¹⁷² Harry Brown. "Post-Brexit Britain: Thinking about 'English Nationalism' as a factor in the EU referendum." *International Politics Reviews* 5 (2017):1-12.

¹⁷³ Francis Elliot. "Brown takes on Boris in battle for EU spotlight." *The Times*. May 11, 2016.

and national interest and the EU's dedication to integration enhance negative attitudes toward each other that continues to be sorted out. These negative attitudes are not invariable. The road to Brexit was complicated and the road past Brexit will continue as such but the willingness of both partners to improve and revise these disputes is a positive facet to the evolving relationship.

International identity, in this case, is best highlighted in how each partner treats immigration. Through the data, the UK takes a stance against the free movement of people among the EU and their benefits within the UK. The EU on the other hand, prizes these concerns as prominent pillars that built the EU and all it represents. The EU treasures the inclusivity and integration of members while the UK searches for individuality and control. One newspaper article suggested that "Churchill didn't think Britain should be actually inside it (the EU)," he expressed that "we are linked but not compromised, intersected and associated but not absorbed," but furthermore a position that is not possible with European integration and centralization. The UK needed to be all in or all out, and they voted to be all out.¹⁷⁴

The UK failed to find balance between individuality and integration and the EU failed to homogenize its values among members. The chasm between each partner's international identity perceptions contributed to the exit from the European Union and its economic agreement. Although the Eurozone crisis also played a large part in the dissatisfaction of the relationship and its cost-benefit considerations, ideas of identity embedded in decision making in areas like immigration, influenced the eventual termination of the economic agreement.

¹⁷⁴ Libby Purves. "Despite its faults, the EU deserves this prize." *Times*, 15 Oct. 2012, p. 21. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Similar approaches to international identity and state decision-making processes through appeals to the public are current and important matters that help us understand the future of international agreements. The United States has pulled out of a number of international agreements under the Trump administration. Through appeals to the public that harness the power of international identity by asking where we stand in international relationships and is it beneficial enough to the ideas of what the US wants or needs is particularly relevant to this research. In the following chapter, I discuss the findings of the prior cases and introduce discussions for future research with the US and Trump as an example of international identity implications on state decision-making processes.

Chapter 4: The Future of International Identity Perspectives in International Agreements

The purpose of this study is to analyze the determinants of international identity and how it contributes to states' decision-making processes, particularly in why states choose to break from international regimes in the form of economic agreements. By applying constructivist theory to international regimes, I was able to show a connection between the chosen determinants and the state's decision to break from an economic agreement. These international identity determinants show how identity perspectives affect state behavior and help explain why states may choose to break from dyadic international relationships beyond cost-benefit analyses. This does not assume that international identity perspectives are the sole reason states may end an economic agreement, but rather prove that they are important factors to consider when analyzing state decision-making processes.

This study of international identity perspectives can be applied to a number of academic fields including economics, political science, and sociology with the potential to go much further. International identity studies can be approached in a myriad of ways with an endless amount of determinants and circumstances to consider. This study is only the surface of what international identity studies can become and how it can be applied to the study of international relations. It is a more inclusive approach to international relationships; accounting for what makes each state unique and how that uniqueness affects the international relationships they pursue, maintain, renegotiate or break away from.

Providing a scale for how the dyadic international identity is perceived allows attitudes to have room for the irregularities that come with studying agency. This study is complicated largely because of state agency. The human aspect to state decisions is difficult to confine and measure but this study attempts to approach decision-making processes in a way that allows for interpretation and open-mindedness.

The international identity determinants are selected by analyzing various stocks of knowledge and interpreting what determinants are relevant to that dyadic international relationship. Each determinant, as it appears, is then measured as positive, somewhat positive, indifferent, somewhat negative, and negative. These measurements show why a state may choose to break from the international regime in the form of an economic agreement. In other words, this proves that there are other factors to consider when studying state-by-state interaction.

Context and time period are significant to international identity perceptions because these relationships are not static. The contextual frame includes the economic and international identity history of the dyadic relationship 5 years prior to the event that led to the termination of the economic agreement to the year following the event, reasonably assuming that people are reacting to the decision that happened the year before through shared stocks of knowledge. Although this study focuses on a specific period in history, it does not assume that cultural, political, or economic shifts are not possible; it hopes to provide additional determinants and reasons for state behavior that can be applied to other cases and time periods.

The outcomes for the cases in this study varied in how shared stocks of knowledge reflect the attitudes of the each regime partner. In the Ukraine-Russia case, there is a large

focus on security. Russia as a threat to Ukrainian sovereignty and Ukraine as a “Western” threat to Russian identity both play into negative international identity perspectives that eventually lead to the partners breaking from their economic agreement(s). The discourse of threat on both sides materializes into a full-fledged invasion and annexation of Ukrainian territory. Once this threat turns into violent action, the once beneficial aspects to the international relationship become trivial to the overall attitudes of those primarily in Western Ukraine who identify less with Russia. In Russia, the annexation is considered less of an invasion of Ukrainian territory, but appropriate action to take back what is rightfully theirs. Once again, trivial attitudes about Ukrainian versus Russian territory are challenged when Western attitudes take hold in Ukraine and Russia perceives Ukraine as a threat to Russian sovereignty and identity rather than an ally. The greater threat is concerned with the identity and the threat to identity rather than the economic benefits of the relationship.

Following the break, international identity perspectives remain largely the same as they were prior to the break. Ukraine still attributes negative identity perceptions to its relationship with Russia particularly in areas concerning security, corruption and sovereignty and Russia still displays negative identity perceptions to its relationship with Ukraine, particularly as a threat to Russian values and territory with the spread of Western attitudes across parts of Ukraine.¹⁷⁵ This does not assume that economics is not an important aspect to the international relationship or that every economic interaction is terminated, rather that there is a conscious and obvious break from formally agreed upon economic agreements partially due to international identity perspectives, which is often overlooked.

¹⁷⁵ Ukraine is split between the western portion, which tends to be Western leaning whereas eastern Ukraine tends to identify more with Russia.

In the UK and EU or Brexit case, attitudes shift across shared stocks of knowledge. Leading up to Brexit, UK attitudes towards its relationship with the EU are largely negative particularly in areas concerning orderliness, dependency, and the EU as a good economic partner or prospect. The EU displays negative international identity perceptions to its relationship with the UK prior to Brexit in areas like trustworthiness and upholding similar state and national values. In the years leading up to the Brexit referendum, the Eurozone crisis is the main focus of both parties, which fostered many negative attitudes about the relationship on both sides. The Eurozone crisis, to the UK, showed how the EU was incapable of leading such a diverse group of states under one currency. It also showed Britons how the EU meant a significant loss of sovereignty and how the UK was unable to make national interest a priority under the EU. Britons were concerned with being outvoted on many issues within the EU that directly affected their own wellbeing. Eurozone bailouts were often mentioned as a contentious issue and emphasized negative international identity perspectives on EU centralization and loss of sovereignty.

Many of the EU's negative identity perceptions emerged from the UK's sovereignty and national priority approaches to EU matters. The Eurozone crisis, to the EU, meant that members were to prioritize the survival and stability of the EU, which meant that members should contribute to the cause, which in the UK's case meant funding bailouts. Negative international identity sentiments also largely associated themselves with immigrant and migrant issues. The free movement of people stands as one of the main tenants of the EU, but the UK often questioned the burden this placed on members. There was little room for members to make their own decisions in how they accepted immigrants and migrants and under what conditions. It was all placed under the jurisdiction of a larger and centralized

body that could not accommodate the interests of every member. The UK and the EU had conflicting sentiments surrounding the movement of peoples across the EU and became another point of contention, which resulted in negative international identity perspectives, aiding the eventual break from the European Union and its embedded economic agreement.

Following Brexit however, the UK's attitudes shift from largely negative to more positive. The relationship between the UK and the EU following Brexit is considered more positive in the same areas that were largely negative prior to Brexit except in determinants related to orderliness, which is due in large part to the prolonged negotiation processes following the referendum. Across shared stocks of knowledge, there is a large sense of regret when discussing the Brexit referendum and the winning vote to leave the European Union. Shared stocks of knowledge tend to focus on the deficiencies of leaving the EU and its embedded economic agreement rather than the positives that so many Britons expected. Although sovereignty loss remained constant prior and following Brexit, it becomes a matter that could have been renegotiated rather than all or nothing issue that it was displayed to be before.

Similar applications of international identity studies can be used to analyze how international relationships function and what kinds of determinants matter to the health of that relationship. Analyzing shared stocks of knowledge provide insight to the attitudes of the people and what is important to them. Matters of importance help us understand deal breakers and dealmakers in international relationships and how much weight is applied to such issues. By understanding these determinants, we can begin to understand how and

why international relationships are pursued, maintained, renegotiated or terminated based upon international identity perspectives.

This is important to study because it provides more information about the complexities of global interaction. Identity discussions are important to explaining state behavior, even on economic issues as it shows how individuality and identity contribute to the functionality of international relationships over time. By doing this, we can improve international relations strategies and examine the possibilities of each relationship through a more informed breadth of knowledge.

Under the Trump administration, this kind of knowledge is particularly relevant. Beginning with his presidential campaign in 2016, Donald Trump often alleged that the United States was not acting in its own best interest while committed to a multitude of various international agreements.¹⁷⁶ These agreements included both economic and security partnerships, which he urged, abated the well being of the United States and those within it.

Trump took a hard stance against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), naming it the “worst trade agreement ever.”¹⁷⁷ With Trump’s relentless criticisms, NAFTA retired and its replacement, called the United States Mexico Canada Agreement (USMCA), now ensures “that more cars are proudly stamped with the four beautiful words: Made in the U.S.A.”¹⁷⁸ Trump claimed that it was necessary to renegotiate NAFTA because it “encouraged U.S. companies to move jobs to low-wage Mexico” and

¹⁷⁶ Douglas A. Irwin. “What He’s Done So Far – and What He’ll Do Next.” *Foreign Affairs*. November, 6, 2018.

¹⁷⁷ Douglas A. Irwin. “What He’s Done So Far.”

¹⁷⁸ Jim Tankersley. “Trump Loves the New Nafta. Congress Doesn’t.” *The New York Times*. February 6, 2019.

“Canada’s protected internal market for dairy products” hurt US farmers.¹⁷⁹ Even through partisan separation, all sides generally agreed that leaving NAFTA and its renegotiated agreements would be harmful to the US and its interests economically and relationally.¹⁸⁰

Trump’s shortsighted demands for what he claims is American interest beyond all else, exemplifies the complexities that international identity can play in international agreements. Trump effectively shapes American opinion through rhetoric that highlights the negative international identity perspectives of the relationships with NAFTA members over issues that are not strictly cost-benefit related. It is these perpetuated negative international identity perspectives that lead to the renegotiation of the NAFTA agreement, an agreement that although dated, became an issue of international identity perceptions and its affect on international agreements.

This analysis would suggest that Trump’s threats to leave or renegotiate international agreements were not exclusively for American interest, at the very least in the monetary sense. Various economic analyses indicate that the renegotiated agreement (in NAFTA specifically) did not improve the United State’s economic interests.¹⁸¹ Therefore, Trump’s threats to leave the NAFTA agreement, I argue, is a power play declaring how the United States is perceived in this international agreement as a hegemon or superpower to instill a sense of security among a portion of the American population. The purpose here was not to improve America’s economic interests, but to use the economic agreement as a

¹⁷⁹ Roberta Rampton. “Trump to notify Congress in ‘near future’ he will terminate NAFTA.” *Reuters*. December 1, 2018.

¹⁸⁰ Roberta Rampton. “Trump to notify Congress.”

¹⁸¹ *ibid*. See also: Jim Tankersley. “Trump Loves the New Nafta. Congress Doesn’t.” *The New York Times*. February 6, 2019.

way to strut power as an international identity among NAFTA members and to a greater extent, the world.

One may also argue that this was a domestic issue of identity. Trump's threats to leave or renegotiate NAFTA could be thought of as a way to sway domestic attitudes between rural and urban Americans. Renegotiating NAFTA is used as a display of rural American identity (a large portion of which voted for Trump) over urban American (or liberal) identity to impose a nationalist view of American political identity over a widespread globalist view of American identity.¹⁸² This view of identity is important and valid and is intertwined with how identity influences state decision-making processes, however, this study focuses on international identity as a partial explanation of decision-making processes rather than the domestic inner workings that may have an effect on the determinants of international identity. Analyzing these inner workings introduces another aspect to this study that can be used for future research.

This kind of analysis also has the potential to apply to security agreements. Again, under the Trump administration, we see another impetuous attempt to shape American opinion through international identity perspectives in North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). There are obvious discrepancies in equitable member payment that are accurate but the discourse surrounding these issues include international identity perceptions that should be acknowledged.

¹⁸² Helena Bottemiller Evich. "Revenge of the rural voter." *Politico*. November 13, 2016. See also: Lazaro Gamio. "Urban and rural America are becoming increasingly polarized." *The Washington Post*. November 17, 2016. See also: Rich Morin. "Behind Trump's win in rural white America: Women joined men in backing him." *Pew Research Center*. November 17, 2016.

Trump, once again, asserts that NATO is a threat to the United States. He sees NATO as a useless military alliance that is a “drain on the United States.”¹⁸³ Even with its economic deficiencies, US government officials advise that a withdrawal “would drastically reduce Washington’s influence in Europe and could embolden Russia for decades.”¹⁸⁴ Even with the economic “drains” that Trump reiterates, the international identity implications of a withdrawal imply “a geopolitical mistake of epic proportion.”¹⁸⁵ Trump seemingly dresses an international identity issue in economic or monetary clothing.

The ‘America first’ campaign “reflects concerns about American decline and American overextension in three areas: the security, trade and monetary spheres.”¹⁸⁶ Trump emphasizes lost greatness in the international system and uses themes of overextension and exploitation by other countries as a way to influence international identity perspectives in a way to assert the US as a global power or hegemon. He often influences international identity perspectives by describing the US as bearing an unfair burden economically in security alliances like NATO or supporting free-riders in trade agreements by way of “America’s openness.”¹⁸⁷ These claims are largely unfounded, as the US “remains by a long way the leading state in the world today.”¹⁸⁸ Also, if the US did not provide international security through agreements like NATO, the world would be “more

¹⁸³ Julian E. Barnes and Helene Cooper. “Trump Discussed Pulling U.S. From NATO, Aides Say Amid New Concerns Over Russia.” *The New York Times*. January 14, 2019.

¹⁸⁴ Julian E. Barnes and Helene Cooper. “Trump Discussed Pulling U.S.”

¹⁸⁵ Adm. James G. Stavridis cited in Julian E. Barnes and Helene Cooper. “Trump Discussed Pulling U.S.”

¹⁸⁶ Carla Norrlof. “Hegemony and inequality: Trump and the liberal playbook.” *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (2018): 63-88.

¹⁸⁷ Carla Norrlof. “Hegemony and inequality.”

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*

uncertain and more economically fragile, with more limited commerce and investment.”¹⁸⁹ However, Norrlof makes the interesting point to suggest that this global engagement does not benefit all Americans, which shows why Trump garners so much support from primarily from rural, white uneducated Americans.¹⁹⁰ She suggests that rather than redistributing gains internationally (from other countries to the US) that many concerns would be alleviated by redistributing those gains domestically.¹⁹¹ This again, would influence international identity perceptions in a positive way towards the Liberal International Order through economic rhetoric. Although economics does play a role in discussing the US’s place and perspective in the world, it again suggests that there is so much more in terms of identity discussions under the cloak of economics.

Trump’s rhetoric implies a negative international identity perception of NATO that is meant to shape American opinion. Trump supporters in America have negative international identity perceptions of NATO because of how Trump enhances negative international identity perceptions of other members, excluding Russia, because he makes the relationship appear unreliable. Russia remains the exception because if the US were to pull out of NATO, Russia would benefit from the instability to potentially take advantage of the weakened military alliance.¹⁹² In this way, the negative international identity perceptions of fellow NATO members become a positive international identity perception to Russia. The negative international identity perceptions of NATO by Trump directly threaten its existence. Cost-benefit analysis aside, international identity perceptions are a

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*

¹⁹² *ibid.*

significant factor to consider when discussing international relations and its accompanying international agreements.

The future of international identity dynamics is complex, but including additional knowledge to the field is crucial to address and study the array of global interactions and their outcomes.

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